Daily Report

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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

CSFR, Hungarian, Polish Liberal Movements Meet *[MTI]* 1
Form Coordinating Body *[CTK]* 1

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Budapest Conference Views New European Situation *[MTI]* 2

ALBANIA

Durres Declared Military Zone; Communique Issued *[ATA]* 3
Embassy Rioting Continues; One Death Reported *[ATA]* 3
Refugees No Longer Occupy Turkish Embassy *[Ankara ANATOLIA]* 4
PPSh Issues Appeals Against 'National Dementia' *[Tirana Radio]* 4
PRSh Appeals Against 'Desertion' of Country *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Opposition Member on Emigration, Upcoming Election *[Vienna Radio]* 5
'Kosova' Patriotic Association Registered *[ATA]* 5
International Observers Appointed for Elections *[Tirana Radio]* 6
Resignation of Youth Leader Bashkurti Deplored *[ZERI I POPULLIT 2 Mar]* 6
Deputy Interior Minister on 'Dark Forces' *[ZERI I POPULLIT 28 Feb]* 6

BULGARIA

Jeszenszky Departs; Trade Payments Discussed *[BTA]* 8
Popov Reports to Assembly on Visit to Greece *[NARODNA ARMIYA 1 Mar]* 8
Presidential Adviser Views Gulf War Role *[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 2 Mar]* 8
Zhivkov Trial Reveals Former Elite Privileges *[BTA]* 9
Witness Faces Possible Perjury *[BTA]* 9
Opposition Rejects 'Show Trial' *[Budapest NEPSZAVA 4 Mar]* 10
BSP Daily Criticizes Anti-Russian Sentiment *[DUMA 5 Mar]* 10
Council Confronts BSP on Events *[BTA]* 11
Turkish Language Conflict, Strikes Continue *[BTA]* 11
Government Discusses Social Welfare Issues *[DEMOKRATSIYA 1 Mar]* 11
Kostov Signs Taxation Agreement With Japan *[BTA]* 12
Trade Union Declaration on Property Relations *[TRUD 4 Mar]* 12
Vidin Free Trade Zone Attracts Foreign Interest *[BTA]* 13
Government Sanctions on Monopoly Food Firms *[BTA]* 13
Police Chief Velichkov Views Militia's New Role *[TRUD 4 Mar]* 13
Agrarian MP's Initiative To Unite Parties *[BTA]* 14

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Slovak Groups Issue Sovereignty Declaration *[Prague Radio]* 15
Slovak Government Opposes Rally Broadcasts *[Prague Radio]* 15
VPN Statement on State of Movement *[Bratislava Radio]* 15
Gal Wants Knazko, Meciar Recalled *[VEREJNOST 6 Mar]* 15
Meciar Reacts to Gal *[NARODNA OBRODA 6 Mar]* 15
Details of Split in VPN Slovak Council Ranks *[NARODNA OBRODA 6 Mar]* 16
VPN Leader Denies Censorship of Meciar Address *[CTK]* 17
Knazko Defends His Slovak Television Speech *[NARODNA OBRODA 6 Mar]* 17
VPN Official Comments on Meciar Scandal *[VEREJNOST 5 Mar]* 17

Meciar Addresses Slovak National Council *[Prague Domestic]* 19
VPN for Democratic Slovakia Club Holds Meeting *[Bratislava Radio]* 19
Calfa Accuses Rival Faction of 'Craving' Power *[VEREJNOST 5 Mar]* 19
Dubcek Supports Meciar in VPN 'Conflict' *[NARODNA OBRODA 6 Mar]* 20
Civic Forum Rejects Interference Charge *[SMENA 6 Mar]* 20
Slovak Nationalists Call For All-National Rally *[SMENA 6 Mar]* 20
Commission Hears Havel Testimony on Nov 89 Events *[Prague Radio]* 20
Former CPCZ Officials Face Prosecution *[Prague Radio]* 20
CPCZ Leader Wants To Change Party Name *[RUDE PRAVO 4 Mar]* 21
Retired General Denies 'Secret Service' Activity *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 6 Mar]* 21
Parties React to 'Intelligence Service' Letter *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 4 Mar]* 21
Socialist Party Elects New Central Secretary *[SVOBODNE SLOVO 5 Mar]* 22
National Democratic Party Resumes Activity *[Prague Radio]* 22
Farmers Cooperatives Voice Support for Reform *[CTK]* 23
State Bank Releases Data on Outstanding Claims *[Bratislava PRAVDA 6 Mar]* 23
Figures on Uranium Processing Published *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Feb]* 23
Civic Forum Coordinating Committee Established *[CTK]* 23
Civic Movement Establishes Own Parliamentary Group *[Prague Radio]* 23
New Civic Democratic Party Founded in Prague *[Prague TV]* 24
Buresova Responds to Moravian Demands *[CTK]* 24
People's Party Sets Up Moravian Organization *[CTK]* 24
Moravians Reject Agreement on Constitution *[NARODNA OBRODA 6 Mar]* 24
Social, Economic Situation in Czech Republic *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 1 Mar]* 24
Meciar Discusses Constitutions, Catholic Church *[NARODNA OBRODA 1 Mar]* 25
Citizens Want Military Aircraft Out of Ostrava *[CTK]* 26
Slovak Media Legislation, Plans Discussed *[Prague TV]* 26
Slovak Government Picks Volkswagen BAZ Partner *[CTK]* 27
Statistics Record Decline in Slovak Economy *[NARODNA OBRODA 2 Mar]* 27

HUNGARY

Antall Addresses Seminar on Market Economy *[MTI]* 28
Sees No 'Total Crisis' *[Budapest Radio]* 28
Explains Foreign Policy Objectives *[Budapest Radio]* 29
Government Approves Four-Year Economic Program *[MTI]* 29
Future Economic Plans Discussed *[Budapest Radio]* 29
Goncz Comments on Situation of Slovaks, Gypsies *[Budapest Radio]* 30
Nuclear Defense Official on Avoiding Accidents *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 6 Mar]* 30
FIDESZ Representative on Foreign Policy *[NEPSZABADSAG 2 Mar]* 31
Official Views 'Tensions' in Trade With USSR *[MTI]* 32
Army Official on Damage Caused by Soviet Troops *[NEPSZAVA 4 Mar]* 32
PRC Foreign Minister Continues Visit 33
Trade Relations Discussed *[MTI]* 33
Queried on Relations, Reforms *[Budapest Radio]* 33
Concludes Official Visit *[MTI]* 34
Jeszenszky Departs for Visit to Bulgaria *[MTI]* 34
Cancels Visit to Romania *[Budapest Radio]* 34
State Secretary Szokai's Talks in CSFR Viewed *[MTI]* 34
Reportage on Lajos Fur Visit to United Kingdom *[cross-reference]* 34

POLAND

Bielecki: Soviet Transit Will Not Be Blocked *[Hamburg DPA]* 35
Walesa Holds Talks With EC's Andriessen *[Warsaw TV]* 35
EC Association To Be Delayed *[PAP]* 35
WEU Delegation Arrives on First Official Visit *[PAP]* 35
Bielecki Meets U.S. Treasury Under Secretary *[PAP]* 35
Debt Reduction Discussions Continue *[PAP]* 36
Sejm Discusses Election Law, End of Term *[PAP]* 36
Siwek Presents Draft Election Law *[PAP]* 36
Walesa Meets With Envoy, Peasant Party Leaders *[PAP]* 36

Bielecki on Discussions With OPZZ on Wage Tax *[Warsaw TV]* 37
Bielecki on Relations Between Government, Press *[Warsaw TV]* 37
Kaczynski on Participation in Government, Walesa *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 5 Mar]* 38
SdRP Condemns Attacks on Left Wing *[TRYBUNA 5 Mar]* 38
Center Accord Congress Proceedings Reported *[PAP]* 38
Commentary Says Army Must Become Apolitical *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 4 Mar]* 39
Recession Hits Privatized Companies *[TRYBUNA 5 Mar]* 40

ROMANIA

Roman 'State of the Nation Report' Continues *[ROMPRES]* 41
Foreign Ministry on UN Human Rights Report *[ROMPRES]* 42
Former Political Detainees Protest Leadership *[DREPTATEA 2 Mar]* 43
Senate Meets; UDMR, FSN View Anniversary *[ROMPRES]* 43
Trial of Former Top PCR Members Continues *[ROMPRES]* 44
Iliescu Receives Leader of Romanys' Party *[ROMPRES]* 44
• Need To Make FSN Reform Party Viewed *[AZI 15 Feb]* 44
RMDSZ Meeting Views 15 March National Holiday *[Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 4 Mar]* 46
Nastase's Statements Upon Departure for SFRY *[ROMPRES]* 47
Prime Minister Continues Latin American Tour 47
Ends Visit to Chile, Leaves for Ecuador *[ROMPRES]* 47
Arrives in Ecuador *[ROMPRES]* 48

YUGOSLAVIA

Loncar, Nastase Discuss Bilateral Relations *[TANJUG]* 49
Talks Focus on Pace of Cooperation *[TANJUG]* 49
Romanian Foreign Minister Arrives *[TANJUG]* 49
Reportage on Markovic Visit to Austria *[cross-reference]* 49
Tudjman, Mesic View Croatian Political Scene *[TANJUG]* 50
Haider, Croatia's Manolic Back Independence *[Vienna DER STANDARD 6 Mar]* 50
Military Statement on 'Attack' by Croatian Troops *[TANJUG]* 51
Croatian Industrial Production Declines *[TANJUG]* 51
Montenegro Demands Inquiry Into Albanian Exodus *[TANJUG]* 51
Funds for Temporary Care of Albanians *[TANJUG]* 52
Milosevic Sends Message to Alia *[Belgrade Radio]* 52
Peterle on Austrian Support for Independence *[Vienna Radio]* 52
Slovenia Amends Military Service Provisions *[TANJUG]* 52
DEMOS Leader Visits Expatriates in Australia *[NEODVISNI DNEVNIK 28 Feb]* 53
Slovene Unions Oppose New Constitution *[DELO 4 Mar]* 53
Draskovic Warns of Dangers of Civil War *[OSLOBODJENJE 27 Feb]* 53
Collective Leadership for Serbian Socialist Party *[TANJUG]* 54
Serbian Socialist Party Leadership Change *[TANJUG]* 54
Renaissance Movement's Belgrade Protest Banned *[TANJUG]* 55
Macedonian Attitude to Future Setup Viewed *[OSLOBODJENJE 27 Feb]* 55
Bulgarians Support Macedonian State *[Burzan in BORBA 1 Mar]* 56
VMRO-DPMNE Wants Army Out of Macedonia *[BORBA 6 Mar]* 56
Kosovo 'Secessionists' Find Refuge in Croatia *[POLITIKA 24 Feb]* 56
Muslims Demand 'Cultural-Educational' Autonomy *[BORBA 6 Mar]* 57
Ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina Issue Memorandum *[Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET 6 Mar]* 58
Serbs Forced Into Vojvodina *[TANJUG]* 58
1991 EC Cooperation Memorandum Signed *[TANJUG]* 58

CSFR, Hungarian, Polish Liberal Movements Meet

LD0303185991 Budapest MTI in English 1653 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Prague, March 3 (MTI)—A conference on cooperation between liberal movements of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland opened in Prague on Sunday. The Czechoslovak delegation, that of the Liberal Club of the Czech Civic Forum, is headed by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier. The conference is also attended by the Slovakian movement, Public Against Violence, the Polish movement ROAD [Democratic Action Citizens Movement] and the delegation of the Hungarian Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), headed by party President Janos Kis. the AFD delegation is to conduct talks with Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, leader of the other, more conservative wing of the Civic Forum, and will have a short, informal conversation with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

Form Coordinating Body

AU0603144991 Prague CTK in English 2115 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 4 (CTK)— Representatives of Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, and Polish liberal democratic parties decided to set up a forum for cooperation and coordination among Central European Liberal Democrats at a meeting here yesterday.

The forum will be established in the near future and its Secretariat will be based in either Budapest, Bratislava, Prague, or Warsaw, said Janos Kis of the Hungarian Union of Free Democrats at a press conference after the meeting, sponsored by the Charter 77 foundation.

Besides a regular exchange of opinions, the forum's goal will be to explore possibilities for the coordination and cooperation of democratic forces in Central Europe.

At the moment the forum is composed of individuals who have maintained personal contact throughout the last 15 years of opposition activity, but it is open to anyone who accepts liberal democratic principles and wants to share in the forum's work.

Participants in yesterday's meeting agreed that the conflicts created by the transition to a market economy must be solved by discussion and mutual compromise, Kis said.

Besides Kis, the discussants included Bronislaw Geremek and Adam Michnik from the Polish Civic Movement-Democratic Action (ROAD), Miroslav Kusy from the Slovak Public Against Violence (VPN), and Jiri Dienstbier and Pavel Rychetsky from the Czech Civic Movement, one of the two groups that formed as a result of the recent split in the Civic Forum (OF).

According to Czech Minister Without Portfolio Jaroslav Sabata, who moderated the discussions, liberal and democratic forces want to confront social demagogy, which they see as one of the greatest dangers in the transformation of economic and political life from totalitarianism to democracy.

Budapest Conference Views New European Situation

LD0103221791 Budapest MTI in English 1312 GMT 1 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 1 (MTI)—Euration Budapest, the European cooperation foundation, organized an international conference on Friday in Budapest, on the East-Central European changes, and the new political, military, and economic systems of relations emerging in Europe.

Participants examined how the region could fit into West European integration and military co-operation structures.

Jean-Claude Renaud, councillor of NATO, said some time will be needed for the North Atlantic organization to be able to precisely determine what its intentions are in Central and Eastern Europe. It is a fact that a power vacuum has come about in the region, and plain to see that the processes in the smaller Eastern European countries and in the Soviet Union are irreversible. The post-war era has ended once and for all, thus NATO should also be flexible in the way it adapts to the new situation.

Conference participants decided to hold similar meetings every year in Budapest. The European cooperation foundation was set up last year, and is a non-profit organization that is both non-party political and non-union affiliated. Its chief aim is to promote hungary's approach to Europe, and the European Communities.

Durres Declared Military Zone; Communique Issued

AU0703195691 Tirana ATA in English 1857 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Council of Ministers' communique issued in Tirana on 7 March]

[Text] Tirana, March 7 (ATA)—In the context of implementing the duty of the Presidential Council and after threshing out opinions with it, the Council of Ministers analysed on March 7 the situation arisen in the sea ports of Durres, Vlore and Shengjin, from where thousands of Albanian nationals illicitly grabbing ships and every local and foreign navigation means, left for Italy, despite the endeavours of the power organs and forces of order to stabilize the situation. Such a situation risks particularly the interstate relations with Italy and is to no one's benefit. It serves but to the forces who are for destabilization in the Balkans and Europe.

The situation in Durres sea port is very troublesome. Practically work is suspended there for unloading food articles so much indispensable for the people's supply. No export-import activity is conducted there. As local and foreign ships are grabbed currently there is no navigation means in the port. This scenario was performed in other countries long ago and is organized by internal and external forces in an attempt to liquidate not only Albania and the Albanian nation, but also to set the whole Balkans on fire, which would have grave consequences for the whole of Europe. In the internal plane, this scenario intends to paralyze our economy, which is in a grave state, to enhance the political tensions and freeze the normal activity of the state power organs in districts and center, to provoke the order forces about confrontations and bloodshed. Practically this whole scenario aims at blocking the entire process of democratization in Albania and suspending the conduct of March 31 elections, for which both the government and all political forces are engaged in. The internal and external enemies try to cut the communication of our country. There exists a direct threat to the state borders and consequently to the sovereignty and freedom of the people. This is the most perceptible thing which should be born in mind by every honest and patriotic Albanian, in whose mind dominates Albania's interest as first hand motive.

In order to cut the threads of this scenario, to guarantee the necessary tranquillity of the population, their normal supply and above all, to defend resolutely and at any cost the loftiest national interests, in these conditions, the Council of Ministers decided:

1. The seaport of Durres become a military zone. It will be controlled and administered by the forces of People's Defence in coordination with the organs of power and transport, adjusting and coordinating through a strict discipline all the work, the entry and exit of persons, means and ships, guaranteeing their crews and observing the norms of international law. The forces of defence are duty bound to defend at any cost and without tolerance this neuralgic spot of the country's life.

2. The Ministry of Transports and the organs of order are charged to adopt measures to prevent abnormal gatherings of the people in Durres, Vlore, Shengjin, and Tirana, through the control of the movement of trains and vehicles.

3. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should immediately contact the UN organisms, the senior authorities of Italy, as a neighbouring country and other countries to find out quick and humanitarian solutions to the serious problems of the exodus of economic emigrants, according to the international norms in force.

The Council of Ministers is working with the highest responsibility and controls the application of these measures so that order is restored and the interests of Albania defended. It calls upon all nationals to observe quietly and with patriotic feeling in these very dangerous moments for the country, all the rules deriving from the new status of the seaport of Durres. The Council of Ministers appeals to every Albanian to do the utmost to avoid the real catastrophe threatening the nation, so that this grave situation end as soon as possible and tranquillity be restored in our country. The power organs of every link and level consider the situation realistically and with the maximum preoccupation, they should handle and carry out the tasks the people have charged them with. In particular the government calls once more upon all political forces to display seriousness and lofty spirit of patriotism so that a situation that does not serve the people and any political party, but the enemies of the democratic developments in Albania, be overcome as soon as possible.

Embassy Rioting Continues; One Death Reported

AU0703193891 Tirana ATA in English 1840 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Announcement by the Interior Ministry; place and date not given]

[Text] Tirana, March 7 (ATA) — The spokesman of the Ministry of the Interior informs that groups of people continued efforts to enter through force into foreign embassies in Tirana up to late hours of March 6, 1991. The forces of order adopted measures to prevent them, but the latter irritated began throwing stones and other solid things. Police called on them again to disperse because the news of opening of embassies was false and their act would bring about damage and consequences. But the people did not mind the frequent calls of the forces of order but they intensified their offensive acts. At the beginning and at the end of "Konferenca e Pezes" Street, near the state bank and "21 Dhjetori" they began to throw stones at the glasses of shops of trade and service, to hit and ruin vehicles, thus causing considerable material damage. At the same time they used explosives against the forces of order, they shot in three or four directions, consequently a police got wounded. As a result of the fire exchange, later a citizen was killed and 7 others got wounded. A number of citizens and forces of order were also wounded through various means.

Scores of people were taken to police stations, 24 of them were detained for acts of vandalism.

The forces of order have taken all sided measures in compliance with the commitments of our country, which adheres to the April 18, 1961 Vienna Convention for Diplomatic Relations to prohibit the violation or damaging of the compounds of diplomatic missions, disturbing the peace and affecting their dignity.

Refugees No Longer Occupy Turkish Embassy

TA0703150791 Ankara ANATOLIA in Turkish 1445 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Ankara (AA)— It has been reported that the Albanians who took refuge at the Turkish Embassy in Tirana have left the building.

According to information obtained by an AA reporter who phoned Ali Kemal Aydin, the under secretary at the Embassy, the 11 persons who took refuge at the embassy yesterday left the building later on. Noting that everything is normal at the Embassy, Aydin added: There are no refugees in the building at the moment. The situation around here seems calm today. The officials are cleaning the remains of yesterday's incidents.

Thousands of persons marched to the Iskenderbey District in Tirana yesterday to take refuge at the diplomatic representations in the district. The demonstrators threw stones at the security forces who blocked their way, and the police were forced to fire shots into the air in an attempt to take control of the situation.

PPSh Issues Appeals Against 'National Dementia'

AU0703181891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Declaration from the Albanian Workers Party (PPSh) Central Committee issued in Tirana on 7 March]

[Text] Our people are extremely worried. At a time when all efforts are being made to normally develop the democratic process and to go in peace to the elections of 31 March, serious events are taking place in the country with consequences for everybody, for economic and social life, for peace and security, and for stability and democracy. Who is served by destructive behavior and acts of vandalism in some towns and absenteeism from work on the part of thousands of ordinary people and production managers? Not the people. Such things do not serve the progress of the economy and the freedom and independence of the homeland. The events of recent days in Vlore, Durres, Tirana, Shkoder, and Lezhe have been added to these major worries. Thousands of people of different ages, especially young people, seized boats found in the ports [words indistinct], many of which were laden with food for the people, and fled to the West.

Despite the measures taken by the state organs for emigration and despite statements by foreign diplomats that there are no jobs in their countries and that this is not the way to solve the problem, mass gatherings took place in front of the embassies. This national dementia breaks the heart of every honest Albanian; parents' hearts break for their children, friends' hearts break for their friends, and neighbors' for neighbors. This is in nobody's interest. It is clear that all this behavior is part of a scenario prepared by internal and external forces to strike at the power of the people, its prestige, and the trust it enjoys among the people, and to sabotage the friendship and cooperation between our country with the peoples of Europe.

The Albanian Workers' Party [PPSh] has therefore asked the state services to take urgent steps within the country to stabilize the situation and to establish, at an international level, the most effective contacts with international organizations to repair this serious situation.

The situation can and must be overcome as soon as possible. The PPSh Central Committee calls on the people, honest individuals, communists, workers, peasants, intellectuals, veterans, and young people, to all work together to prevent this evil. Young people are fleeing the homeland. Many of these young people, influenced by a psychosis of (?modernity), are seeking their (?fortune), abandoning the country in a completely illegal fashion. However, the instigators and organizers of this desertion are [words indistinct] and are not unemployed. In these activities, they try to seriously attack the people at a time of high political sensitivity. They seek to create uncontrollable situations and to cause (?turmoil) in Tirana as well; an even more serious tragedy.

In this situation, basic party organizations and communists must come to the fore, especially in Tirana, Durres, Vlore, Shkoder, Lezhe, etc. Now more than ever we need their wise words. Now more than ever they must work with people, persuading them [words indistinct] that this is not the way to save Albania. This is not the road of democracy. This is not the road to Europe. [passage indistinct]

The PPSh Central Committee appeals to the patriotic conscience of the entire people. It appeals to our young people to confront with courage the economic and spiritual crisis they are experiencing, to put the interests of the homeland and the nation above everything, and to cope with the serious situation that has been created. Let whoever loves Albania now show it. The PPSh Central Committee is fully convinced that our people, (?who have lived through) so many difficult situations, will be able to overcome this one as well by strengthening its unity, [words indistinct].

[Signed] The PPSh Central Committee, Tirana, 7 March 1991.

PRSh Appeals Against 'Desertion' of Country

AU0703202491 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Statement by the Republican Party; place and date not given]

[Text] A Republican Party [PRSh] statement on the events of recent days states, among other things, that the desertion of the country by thousands of people has dealt the homeland a severe blow. Our sons, women, and children cannot be left to the mercy of the seas, faced with an unprecedented catastrophe. Even those who land on foreign shores and take to the roads of the world are ours. This must be stopped at all costs. Besides stemming the exodus, removing all boats from our ports, and establishing order, the government must act more effectively to detect and strike at the dark forces. It must also make the necessary efforts to support the emigrants in the countries where they arrive.

People of Albania, sisters and brothers, you who are setting out in flight, the PRSh appeals to you to think again of yourselves and your country. Let us stop and think. Only we, all of us, can save our country. Let us be patient, hold free elections, and set off smoothly on a life in democracy. As soon as we return to work, we will see that we have every opportunity to live here on our own soil as free and proud people.

The PRSh, the statement concludes, also calls on the European Community to view our situation realistically. Offering refuge to its emigrants, who cause problems for Europe itself, is not the only way to help Albania. Europe can also help by giving urgent aid to embark on its reconstruction.

Opposition Member on Emigration, Upcoming Election

AU0703131591 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Interview with opposition member Genc Pollo by Armin Wolf in Vienna; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Wolf] Mr. Pollo, why is such a large-scale wave of emigration starting just now? For a few months the situation had been relatively calm, and only in the past few weeks has there been a large-scale wave of emigration.

[Pollo] The same scenario that happened at the beginning of February is being repeated. Rumors were spread that a ferry was coming to take people aboard without papers, without visas. The people, thousands of them, gathered in Durres. Now the same happens—that is, clashes with police. Once again, the government did nothing to deny these rumors. The same now happens again. I think this has been staged to cause disquiet in the country and to intimidate the people so they will not vote for the opposition and, perhaps, to get people who are not for the communist party [Albanian Workers' Party—PPSh] out of the country.

[Wolf] Staged by whom?

[Pollo] Well, we do not have any proof. One notices, however, that if the government, the police, do not close the ports and people are permitted to freely leave the country without passports and without visas, this indicates that everything that has happened was not really spontaneous.

[Wolf] On the other hand, border guards have been reported to fire warning shots over the heads of people who want to escape, to prevent people from crossing the border to Yugoslavia or from storming the embassy district in Tirana. According to your thesis, the government would have to be interested in having all these people leave the country as quickly as possible.

[Pollo] The PPSh would not be interested in having embassies stormed, this would again lead to a crisis involving the embassies, and this would not be beneficial. There have, indeed, been warning shots fired at the borders, but this does not mean much to the people. They are leaving despite that.

[Wolf] So you think this is in the government's interest?

[Pollo] Well, I think it is in the interest of those who do not want the opposition to win.

[Wolf] Why? Because, obviously, those people are leaving who would vote for the opposition?

[Pollo] Yes, there are people would vote for the opposition. Certainly; those who are simply fed up with the entire regime and with life in Albania.

[Wolf] What do this latest wave of emigration and the reprisals of the past few weeks mean for the elections, which have been scheduled for 31 March?

[Pollo] Well, the latest events and the subsequent reprisals really call into question the credibility of the elections. The acts of violence committed by the Army and the police were intended to intimidate the people. If elections are held one month afterwards, one has to ask oneself whether the elections will be free and fair.

'Kosova' Patriotic Association Registered

AU0803143091 Tirana ATA in English 1114 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Tirana, March 8 (ATA)—Some days ago, on the basis of an order of the minister of justice, the creation of the Patriotic Association "Kosova" was approved. The Initiating Commission of this association is composed of Murat Gjonbala, Husamedin Ferraj, Ibrahim Shatri, Agim Haxhia and Shkelzen Berisha.

International Observers Appointed for Elections

AU0703182091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] An ATA reporter learned today that the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has appointed to take part in the 31 March elections for deputies to the People's Assembly delegations of observers from the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, the European Parliament of the EEC, and the national parliaments of Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Austria, Britain, Finland, Sweden, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Soviet Union, Luxembourg, Greece, Hungary, the CSFR and the Helsinki Commission of the U.S. Congress.

Resignation of Youth Leader Bashkurti Deplored

AU0703164891 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Mar 91 p 3

[Ali Muka article: "The Wretched Position of a Player of Political Games"]

[Excerpt] Lisen Bashkurti, first secretary of the Albanian Union of Working Youth Central Committee, recently appeared in the press with a personal statement on his resignation from the Albanian Workers' Party [PPSh] with the pretentious title, "Youth, the People, and the Albanian Nation Above Everything." He has taken a great burden on himself, and I think the fable of the tortoise that thought it could carry a mountain on its back inevitably comes to mind. In the belief that we are responding to a legitimate demand of readers, especially young people and communists, in relation to this irrevocable step taken by L. Bashkurti, we will try to take some of the air out of his balloon.

It does not take much to realize that it is a person's entirely legitimate right to resign from one political party and join another by his own free will. Because L. Bashkurti chose to publish his statement in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE rather than ZERI I RINISE—the organ of the party he represents—however, it is difficult to believe that this step was unmotivated or simply a matter of personal preference. The fact that he resigned from the PPSh at precisely this time, not three months after the announcement of pluralism and the entire democratic transformation that Albanian society is attempting to achieve, and that he feverishly hurries to display his gesture in the press and on television also makes it impossible to believe that his step is connected solely with the events of the past two or three weeks, as he tries to claim. [passage omitted]

Deputy Interior Minister on 'Dark Forces'

AU0703164491 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Feb 91 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Interior Minister Aredin Shyti, by Naim Zoto; place and date not given: "The People Demand the Restoration of Calm"]

[Text] [Zoto] Public peace and order have been in danger for some days. Why has this happened, and what is the situation today?

[Shyti] Some time ago, the public was informed through television and radio of the declaration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, stating that the state services are in possession of information showing that dark forces with specific destructive aims are preparing to create serious disturbances among the people in the capital and other cities of the country. In this situation, so fraught with tension and danger for everyone, a call was issued to all honest people, workers, peasants, intellectuals, schoolchildren, and students as well as to state organizations and political parties to be alert and not to fall into the monstrous traps of terrorist forces that wish to destroy Albania and devastate the lives of the people. Unfortunately, however, there were political parties that cast doubt on the genuineness of this concern, considering the report to be baseless and upsetting for the public. The events that took place later, which rightly caused deep indignation among all honest and patriotic people, clearly demonstrated that these dark forces are not fictions in the minds of state organs.

It is now clear that certain extremely diverse elements have taken refuge under the banner of democracy and are issuing calls for bloodshed. This undoubtedly gradually escalated until on 20 February 1991 they surged into Skenderbeg Square and toppled and defiled Enver Hoxha's monument. The same scenario took place in some other cities of the country.

We now believe that the situation is tending to normalize, thus favoring the further strengthening of democracy.

[Zoto] We first welcomed the patience with which the forces of order confronted the events of these days; however, this is apparently not enough. What are you doing to restore calm for citizens? We used to lack many things but never calm.

[Shyti] The forces for the maintenance of order certainly have been congratulated for the moderation they have shown in all the events so far; however, there are more than a few people who think differently. There is a reason for this moderation, that you too have noticed. The forces of order have realized that the behavior organized to increase tension has been intentional, and that its aim has been to force the police to open fire on the crowds. This was desired, and considered necessary at all costs, so certain forces could gain political credibility. It is a significant fact that in front of the Enver Hoxha United Officers School the forces of order were fired on from many directions, but the shots that led to casualties were fired from the middle of the crowd that was closest to the forces of order and in front of them.

We have now organized the service, making the necessary changes in the organizational structure of the police,

to respond effectively to situations that have been created and those that lie ahead with the methods and means such acts deserve.

[Zoto] It has been said that citizens have obtained weapons illegally. What is the situation regarding this problem?

[Shyti] The fact that shots were fired in Tirana and Fier and that some members of the forces of order were killed and wounded shows that certain people possess such weapons. The police are working to shed light on this problem.

[Zoto] Citizens and public opinion are asking for more accurate information regarding the so-called "dark, destructive, and terrorist forces." Can you explain them a little to us?

[Shyti] We think that this question has now received its answer. The events in Durres, the toppling and defilement of Enver Hoxha's monuments, the burning of valuable books, the murder and wounding of people, and the shots fired on demonstrators in Fier while Enver Hoxha's bust was being reinstalled, when several people were wounded, show that these forces are not imaginary, but real. Some of them have been detained in recent days. It is not to the good of democracy for the Democratic Party's press to defend them either directly or indirectly. Democracy does not need such supporters. The internal affairs services have the duty to the people to deliver to justice the perpetrators of such crimes and those who incite them.

Jeszenszky Departs; Trade Payments Discussed

AU0703203191 Sofia BTA in English 1929 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Hungary will shortly sign a declaration that will put their relations on an entirely new basis and replace their previous bilateral treaty. The document will be probably signed during President Zhelyu Zhelev's forthcoming visit to Budapest, Mr. Geza Jeszenszky, minister of foreign affairs of Hungary, announced today at the end of his short visit to Sofia. (Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia have already signed a similar declaration). Arrangements have been made for a meeting of representatives of the joint Bulgarian-Hungarian Committee for Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation who will discuss the possibilities of balancing the two countries' payments and of activating their economic cooperation. According to the Hungarian foreign minister the decline in Bulgarian-Hungarian business relations, which is due to the difficulties both countries are facing, will be overcome faster if they step up the implementation of their economic reforms.

Mr. Geza Jeszenszky said that the talks he had today in Sofia were useful.

Mr. Jeszenszky and his Bulgarian counterpart, Mr. Viktor Vulkov, discussed the draft of the declaration and the possibilities for a comprehensive innovation of the contractual and legislative basis of the two countries' relations. It is envisaged to sign a new agreement on trade and payments and an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation and encouragement of investments.

The necessity to update Bulgarian-Hungarian relations and bring them into line with the new realities in the two countries was emphasized at the meeting Mr. Geza Jeszenszky had with the Bulgarian Prime Minister, Mr. Dimitur Popov. As to the two countries' membership in the CMEA, which fell short of its members' expectations, a shared opinion was expressed that new viable forms and structures of cooperation should be sought. The disintegration of this organization does not mean putting an end to bilateral cooperation, which should be promoted in harmony with the development of market economy and to the benefit of both countries.

President Zhelyu Zhelev also received the foreign minister of Hungary. They discussed the changes in the two countries. According to Mr. Geza Jeszenszky legislative democracy has been already lastingly established in Bulgaria.

In connection with President Zhelev's forthcoming visit to Hungary the presidential spokesman announced that it would probably take place at the beginning or in the middle of April.

Today's eight-hour-long schedule of Mr. Jeszenszky's visit included a meeting with Grand National Assembly Chairman Nikolay Todorov and with representatives of the legislative factions.

Both at his meetings and in the statements he made before his departure, Foreign Minister Jeszenszky confirmed that Hungary supports Bulgaria's ambition to get integrated with all all-European and regional structures.

He said that the sameness of the two countries' opinions on the key international problems make their cooperation on the international arena possible.

Popov Reports to Assembly on Visit to Greece

AU0703142491 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Mar 91 p 1

[Valeri Vasev report: "I Am Bulgarian"]

[Excerpt] During the 28 February afternoon session of the Grand National Assembly, Council of Ministers Chairman Dimitur Popov briefly reported on his recent visit to Greece, and on the results of the talks he conducted during the visit. "The talks were constructive and useful," Popov pointed out. "We reviewed the implementation of various agreements and the further development of bilateral relations. An agreement was signed on avoiding double taxation. We envisaged developing relations in the area of transportation and signed an agreement on scientific cooperation through 1993. We also agreed to increase the so-called 'transparency' in the military sphere, i.e., to exchange information on the presence, deployment, and movement of troops near our common border, as well as on any ad hoc and other changes that could evoke tension between the two countries," Popov stressed.

At the end of March a mixed commission will address the issue of exporting manpower to Greece, which could alleviate unemployment in our country. In addition to the specific results and the documents that were signed, a declaration was adopted that states that improving relations between the two countries is not aimed against any other country. Therefore, it was proposed to establish a Balkan Secretariat in Sofia, which will facilitate cooperation among all Balkan countries. [passage omitted]

Presidential Adviser Views Gulf War Role

AU0703155291 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 2 Mar 91 p 4

[Georgi Miloshev report: "Bulgaria Made Sacrifices, Bulgaria is Among the Victors"]

[Text] Can a country that has not dispatched even one soldier to the battlefield be included among the victors? "This is absolutely possible," Stefan Tafrov, President Zhelyu Zhelev's adviser on foreign policy matters, stated. According to him, the contribution to the war effort should not be based solely on the number of actual participants, but depends on the nature and scope of the sacrifices made and upon the readiness with which they were made.

Bulgarian participation cannot be calculated in troops and battalions, but we should admit that in 1990 alone our country suffered losses worth 400 million leva (from undelivered oil supplies and from the debts that Iraq failed to pay back). When we joined the embargo against Iraq our country's leadership, the National Assembly, the president, and the government included, fully realized what kind of price we were expected to pay. Nevertheless, Bulgaria was among the first states to express their readiness to join the embargo, despite the current critical domestic situation and despite the skeptical and even negative opinions that were expressed here and abroad.

In Bulgaria this attitude represented a categorical victory of democraticization, of the reassessment of our values and interests. It was a victory of the recently elected president, of the perseverance with which he defended his convictions. These convictions serve our country's present interests and will benefit our future even more.

For people abroad this action was an unmistakable confirmation that Bulgaria has firmly and irreversibly embarked upon the path that leads our country away from the narrow framework of a certain ideological, political, and military community associating it with the large family of nations for whom justice and freedom are not a matter of lip service.

"Our consistent policy was noticed and very highly appreciated abroad," Stefan Tafrov stressed. "We were aware of this fact wherever we went, in the United States, France, Czechoslovakia, and Great Britain." The president's foreign policy adviser is convinced that our approach to the Persian Gulf crisis has played a decisive role in the generous assistance that was most recently granted to us. No one tries to underrate our role, despite the fact that the Bulgarian medical corps did not reach the battle field.

The initiative of dispatching volunteers to participate in restoring the ruins of war in Kuwait also deserves support. Perhaps this spontaneous readiness to help will develop into something more important that could be to the advantage of both countries in the future restoration period.

As for the Bulgarian ambassador, he is expected to return to Kuwait as soon as the host country's leaders consider it convenient.

Zhivkov Trial Reveals Former Elite Privileges

AU0703182491 Sofia BTA in English 1631 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—The former nomenklatura members enjoying special privileges received yearly allowances of 700,000 to 800,000 leva allocated through the special departments' budget. This amount did not include the money they were paid in cash.

The group of specially privileged included not only the members and associate members of the former Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the leaders of the state, the government and the National Assembly, but the deputy chairmen of the former State Council and of the Council of Ministers, the ministers and their deputies, the secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, the local party and state administration leaders, the chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, the chairman of the Bulgarian Sports Union and chairmen of certain committees. Some witnesses testified that in a number of cases it was not a matter of expanding the circle of privileged but of "placing newly created posts on an equal footing with already existing ones".

The witness Nikola Manolov, chief secretary of the Council of Ministers in 1968 and later chief secretary of the State Council, said that he personally had drafted the list of government officials (1968) who were to be paid allowances based on Politburo document B-3/1968 granting privileges to a limited circle.

The prosecutor's questions were aimed at finding out whether it had been possible to grant allowances without the permission of Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev and what was their share in distributing the money.

Much attention was given to the question of who used to determine the circle of privileged: Todor Zhivkov himself, the chiefs of the former Security and Protection Department or the Politburo and the Council of Ministers.

The prosecutor complained once again of the practice of the counsels for the defense to demand additional explanations on each question asked.

One of the witnesses, Georgi Karamanev, entered the courtroom at a soldier's step and made a polite bow to Todor Zhivkov and Milko Balev.

Witness Faces Possible Perjury

AU0703140691 Sofia BTA in English 1223 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—Mr. Prodan Stoyanov, former chief of the Secretarial Department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Mr. Ivan Shpatov, former chief secretary of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Nikola Manolov, former chief secretary of the State Council, Mr. Vasil Lilov, head of the Special Department with the Ministry of Finance, and Mr. Georgi Karamanev, a long-serving deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and home trade minister, were called to give evidence in the court hearing today. Witness Prodan Stoyanov was questioned before the recess. Most questions came from the prosecution and the bench and concerned the cars purchased by the Security and Protection Department for the top nomenklatura. Besides they asked questions about the social benefits granted to certain people from the top state and

party apparat. Prosecutor Krasimir Zhekov found contradictions between the evidence given by this witness in the preliminary investigation and in court.

Today Prosecutor Krasimir Zhekov demanded that the panel of judges hearing the Zhivkov-Balev case should refer the records of the evidence given by former Council of Ministers' chief secretary Ivan Shpatov to the district prosecutor for possible perjury proceedings. Prosecutor Zhekov found, as he put it, a major contradiction between Mr. Shpatov's pre-trial and court testimony. The defence objected to this demand on the grounds that it will intimidate the rest of the witnesses and will restrict their right to free expression before the court. Zhivkov's lawyer Ms. Dokovska also said that the evidence, including the witness's testimony, should be assessed in the aggregate and that the rest of the evidence will show whether perjury charges should be pressed.

Opposition Rejects 'Show Trial'

AU0703143191 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 4 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Union of Democratic Forces Chairman Filip Dimitrov by Szerdahelyi on the telephone from Bulgaria; date not given: "There Is No Need for Show Trials"—first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov is talking about a witch-hunt, thereby admitting that there have been "witches" in the past. According to Filip Dimitrov, these witches have not necessarily died out yet in Bulgaria.

[Szerdahelyi] These last few weeks, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has been relatively quiet. Why is that?

[Dimitrov] Your phrasing was correct: We have only been relatively quiet. Bulgaria has a dozen opposition parties, and there are no power struggles at the head of these parties. The truth is that we have been concentrating on the elaboration of a new concept, a new way of politicizing. As long as we have not come up with an acceptable plan of action, we do not wish to fan the flames in a country that has been so bitterly disappointed.

[Szerdahelyi] Who is trying to fan the flames?

[Dimitrov] You know, those ex-Communist politicians who have turned socialist are unable to cope with their tasks. Over the past few decades, Bulgaria never experienced a crisis as profound as the one that has marked recent months. We are withering in our foreign relations, and there is a clear crisis in our social, economic, and welfare situation at home. Under such circumstances, it seems easy to put Todor Zhivkov—for example—in the box of the accused, but it does not solve our real problems.

[Szerdahelyi] Am I correct in understanding that there is opposition to the Zhivkov trial from the SDS, or from you, Mr. Dimitrov?

[Dimitrov] That is not the point. I really do not think that there is any need for a show trial at this point in time. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Zhivkov now speaks of a witch-hunt, thereby admitting that "red witches" did exist in the past. In fact, I am not convinced that these "witches" have disappeared altogether from today's political stage; they may just have changed their attire.

[Szerdahelyi] Clearly, a real change of regime has not yet taken place in Bulgaria. Is that right?

[Dimitrov] The explosion in Central and Eastern Europe was actually followed by a quieter detonation here, but the current situation in Bulgaria may well cause a real explosion among the justifiably dissatisfied millions. Such an explosion cannot be the political goal of any party or organization; fortunately, few people entertain thoughts of political adventure.

[Szerdahelyi] The trade union movement also seems to be gaining importance. What kind of relations would the SDS like to have with interest representation groups?

[Dimitrov] Let us specify! The opposition trade union movement is also gaining political importance. We agree with its basic goals, although certain improvements are necessary, of course. We will probably develop closer relations with the independent trade union movement in the near future.

BSP Daily Criticizes Anti-Russian Sentiment

AU0703142591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Mar 91 p 4

[Unattributed editorial]

[Text] What a glorious National Day celebration, indeed! The president tried to convince us that Bulgaria's liberation was our own achievement, while from the top of Shipka mountain we heard the voice of Simeon Borisov. As a matter of fact, at the liberators' monument in Sofia some kind of king laid a wreath addressed to Aleksandr II, emperor of all the Russias. Over our national radio network all kinds of people insulted not only the Russian heroes who sacrificed their lives on Bulgarian soil, but even our own national hero Khristo Botev. All this was drowned in a wave of vicious Russophobe intoxication that could move even the most hardened Bulgarian soul to tears.

The rally staged by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in Sofia, however, represented the climax of the anti-Russian hysteria. It raised claims about some sort of "new national rebirth." Addressing the rally, Mr. Nedelchev unceremoniously blamed the inefficient Russian generals who were responsible for the peace of San Stefano and explained to the SDS majority of participants in the meeting that there is no difference between them and the KGB. Let us not talk about the rest of the speakers who competed in denouncing Russia for the sole crime of having shed its blood for Bulgaria. This was

again a typically Bulgarian phenomenon. Politicians who have disgraced themselves, or are afraid of disgrace, took advantage of our most glorious National Day to gain some dubious prestige among people who were seething with hatred.

Unfortunately, not only the anti-Russian insults disgraced the National Day. It was also disgraced by the efforts to exploit it for purely opportunistic, political goals. The speakers at the rally did not refrain from slandering Bulgaria's name with words and gestures that brought us back to 1990—the era of unrestrained political propaganda. It was evident that the sole objective of the rally was to slander the socialist ideas and the Socialist Party, instead of paying tribute to the memory of the heroes who fought for our freedom. The greatest success in this respect was scored by Mr. Beron who, having forgotten his past as a police informer, compared the Socialists to a well known animal of South American origin, which is notorious for its unpleasant odor. Well, the gentleman being a zoologist, his imagination is evidently related to zoology, let alone his hatred. Even in the epoch of fascism, which some of the gentlemen in question seem to have erased from their memories, the 3 March anniversary has never been exploited for anti-Socialist propaganda in such an outrageous way.

This is how 3 March 1991 was transformed into a day of Russophobia and primordial hatred of socialism. All this is happening at a time when Bulgaria is heated with Russian oil, when our factories are functioning with Russian coal, when we are awaiting newsprint from Russia, using Russian gas, processing Russian metals, and Russian timber. Some of the SDS gentlemen call this a political matter. Well, so much the worse for them. Even the famous anti-hero of our literature, the notorious Bay Ganyo Balkanski, with his gross manners, would not have imagined that some of his great-grandsons might turn out to be such simpletons in a difficult political game where the country's interests are at stake!

Council Confronts BSP on Events

AU0803085291 Sofia BTA in English 2158 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—It is high time the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] stopped identifying itself with the state institutions, it is said in the latest of the statements made by the spokesman of the Sofia local administration commenting on the argument with the Bulgarian Socialist Party that started after the National Day festivities on March 3.

The appearance of Mr. Andrey Lukanov, BSP deputy chairman, among the official guests at the solemn ceremony was resented by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). Since other objections were raised as well (the red flags that decorated the square), the city council had to answer who were the officially invited guests. Today's declaration by the city council says that no party leaders have been invited to the ceremony, as claimed by the BSP, and insists that the BSP should offer an apology.

Turkish Language Conflict, Strikes Continue

AU0803093091 Sofia BTA in English 2205 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—The wave of protests against the introduction of the Turkish language as an optional subject in the Bulgarian schools is spreading, dispatches from the country say. The tension is greatest in Kurdzhali where 11,000 pupils have stayed away from school for three weeks now, 500 of the 920 teachers are on strike. Public figures (not including representatives of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms whose members are ethnic Turks) have demanded that all decisions on the ethnic issues be postponed until the adoption of the new constitution.

There were demonstrations and hunger strikes in the towns of Khaskovo, Asenovgrad, and Aytos. The demonstrators demanded that the president, the government and the minister of education should resign. The majority of the Bulgarian people in the mixed-population regions are not taking part in the protests, but a large number of children and young people have been involved. Pupils have gone on hunger strikes, some of them unlimited. The protests against the introduction of the Turkish language have been initiated by organizations which call themselves "national," "patriotic," "fatherland." In some places they are supported by formations which have succeeded formal organizations in the totalitarian past.

The statements made by Ministry of Education officials that no protests should be made against human rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution and that classes in other languages spoken in this country will also be opened in the Bulgarian schools had no effect.

Fifty ethnic Turks have gone on relay hunger strike in the town of Isperikh (northern Bulgaria). They say they support the demands raised by 47 families who are back from Turkey and want to recover the homes they had sold before leaving for Turkey in 1989. The local administration told a BTA reporter that for a number of families this problem had been solved, but that the town council has limited possibilities in this respect.

Government Discusses Social Welfare Issues

AU0703161091 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 1 Mar 91 p 1

[Asya Gruncharova report: "Minister's Attention Focuses on Social Policy"]

[Text] Emiliya Maslarova, minister of labor and social welfare, was the main speaker at yesterday's government session. A decree on new rates for insurance contributions was adopted. "It is expected to be a provisional measure until the law on social security has been

adopted," Maslarova stated. It is necessary to adopt a new rate for the contributions because of the emerging budget deficit related to the social security fund," she added. The contributions will be differentiated as follows: 35 percent for the third category of pensioners; 45 percent for the second category; and 50 percent for the first category.

The question of specifying the criteria by which citizens are considered as socially weak evoked sharp controversies. The fact that one's income is below 65 percent of the minimum wage does not always prove that the individual is poor ("socially weak" being an euphemism for poverty).

The minister of labor and social welfare and the minister of defense have agreed on a joint solution for the problem of finding appropriate jobs for 30,000 young men who will be released from the barracks in spring 1991.

Apart from the "social welfare" item on the agenda, Prime Minister Popov entrusted ministers Pushkarov, Danov, and Spirov to provide prompt information on occurrences throughout the country concerning officials who have issued instructions for the destruction of foodstuffs, or have ordered high prices to remain unchanged. Doctor Krustev, spokesman of the Podkrepa Labor Federation, made a statement outside the government's conference hall pointing out that on Monday, 4 March, a tripartite commission is expected to meet and specify the mechanism of upcoming personnel dismissals and the methods of sanctioning managers who have deliberately prevented foodstuffs from being put on the market until they were spoiled. The problem of enterprises and economic managers who refuse, or are incapable of paying compensations to their workers and employees is also expected to be discussed.

The Council of Ministers repealed 39 normative documents, including power supply, domestic trade, services, financial credit systems, and economic management.

The government also recommended to the Foreign Aid Agency to apply for a credit to purchase foreign currency from the Ministry of Finance, or the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank to pay for the transport of wheat supplies from the United States. Finance Minister Ivan Kostov declared himself against the supply of the necessary $2,750 [amount as received] from the free market because the purchase of such a large amount would inevitably involve an increase of the dollar exchange rate.

Kostov Signs Taxation Agreement With Japan

AU0703140091 Sofia BTA in English 1227 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—Today the minister of finance of Bulgaria, Mr. Ivan Kostov and the ambassador of Japan to Bulgaria, Mr. Takashi Tajima, signed an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation.

The agreement gave the green light to Japanese investment in Bulgaria, Mr. Kostov and Mr. Tajima pointed out in an interview for the BTA. Mr. Kostov noted that the foreign investment act which is expected to be shortly passed by the legislature will also contribute to the investments.

The agreement abolishes double taxation not only on investment but on all profits made by juristic or natural persons from one country on the territory of the other, the BTA learnt from the Ministry of Finance. This is the 20th agreement which Bulgaria signs with advanced countries in Western Europe and elsewhere as part of its policy of economic opening up to the West, the Finance Ministry source said.

Trade Union Declaration on Property Relations

AU0703165091 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 4 Mar 91 pp 1, 2

["Declaration of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria": "Placing Property Relations on the Basis of Principles"]

[Text] The Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] signed the agreement of the political forces with reservations. These related to the part dealing with the trade union organizations' property and finances. Since their establishment, the trade unions have existed on the basis of the contributions and fees of its members and supporters. Using its financial means for the benefit and needs of the members and their families is a fundamental principle in managing the finances and property of the trade unions. This principle was violated only when the trade unions also implemented state functions, and received subsidies for this purpose.

Aiming at restoring real trade-unionism, the KNSB relinquished all such functions. As of February 1990, the KNSB receives no state subsidies. Immediately after the Constituent Congress a special commission was established that began to clarify the property issues. In accordance with the decisions of the congress and the general agreement of 1990, the state, departments, and enterprises have received from the trade unions, rest and recreation centers, and other property worth almost 350 million leva. Now the KNSB owns rest and recreation centers whose value is about 22 million leva, and that have been constructed with trade union means. We continue to clarify the fate of some disputed property, in which the state or other organizations have a share.

Simultaneously, we must inform our members and the public that in the last 45 years, property whose value was about 200 billion leva, was seized from the trade unions through nationalization, illegal party and state decisions, or merely by placing a phone call.

The KNSB Executive Committee insists on finally clarifying property relations on the basis of the following principles:

First—proving the right to ownership through documents, and clarifying additional investments made by the owners in parts of the property.

Second—restoring trade union finances, when those finances have been invested in improving and expanding property used by the trade unions, and owned by other organizations and persons.

Third—return of trade union property seized by the state and other organizations.

Fourth—claims on trade union property and finances on the part of other legitimate trade unions must be solved on the basis of an agreement or by the court.

It must be taken into consideration that every deliberate attempt against trade union property and finances represents a violation of the trade unions' basic rights, regulated by international agreements and protected by specific European and world organizations. The KNSB expresses its readiness to honor the agreement of the political forces, if laws and the international legal order are fully observed. Simultaneously, we shall categorically oppose all attempts to deliberately and illegally seize and confiscate trade union property. At this grave stage in the country's life, we shall not allow the working people to be deprived of property acquired through their work and money, and utilized for the rest and recreation of the trade union members.

Vidin Free Trade Zone Attracts Foreign Interest

AU0703140791 Sofia BTA in English 1220 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Vidin, March 7 (BTA)—The Vidin Free Trade Zone will attract ever more foreign trade and manufacturing companies thanks to its location in north-western Bulgaria, to the convenient transport links on the River Danube including two ports and a ferry service to Passau, with its terminal in the Austrian town of Linz, the two border checkpoints and the Vidin-based subsidiary of the Bulgarian SOMAT [International Road Transport Economic Trust] long-haul company. Though the free trade zone will start functioning at capacity as of 1 July, contacts with Greek, Austrian, Swiss and German companies have already been established.

"The construction of four indoor storehouses on 6,000 square meters is nearly finished," the general director of the zone Mr. Krustyo Marinov said. "They are convenient for storage, finishing operations and forwarding of goods. There are offices for the companies' agencies. The first stage of construction took two years. Ten million leva were laid out on water mains, power lines, a telephone network and roads, the whole infrastructure covering 20 hectares. The zone will have more outdoor and indoor storehouses, a railroad, a container terminal, an administrative and business centre complete with banks, an insurance agency, conference rooms, a post-office and a polyclinic."

The companies using the zone will be exempted from duties on goods storage and manufacture and from profits tax for the first five years. The free trade zone will be guarded and will be under customs control. It will be open to all kinds of business and manufacture which are environment-friendly and are consistent with Bulgarian legislation.

Government Sanctions on Monopoly Food Firms

AU0803085491 Sofia BTA in English 2153 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—Along with the legal sanctions, the government has decided to impose administrative sanctions on the business managers who let thousands of tons of food and milk be scrapped and their quality lowered in the conditions of acute shortages in the country just to keep their monopoly position.

According to Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev the quality grade had to be lowered of 33,112 kilogrammes of meat and meat-based products to the value of more than 200 thousand leva, 70,063 kilogrammes of milk and dairy products, 5,200 kilogrammes of cheese, 7,000 kilogrammes of butter, eggs and other products.

A decision has been adopted to draft a decree on encouraging business competition. All incentives should be in line with the economic reform they should not be administrative.

Police Chief Velichkov Views Militia's New Role

AU0703165991 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 4 Mar 91 pp 1,4

[Interview with Police Director Colonel Khristo Velichkov by Dimitur Statkov; place and date not given—"Parting With 'Political Purposefulness'"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Statkov] For almost half a century the department now headed by you had the pompous name "People's Militia." Nevertheless, it seems that until recently it was something completely different.

[Velichkov] Your statement is not completely correct. Both before 10 November 1989 and afterward, as well as before 9 September 1944, the police, and especially its criminal department, have defended the interests and security of the people. In this context, the adjective "people's" was a proper one. Now the police reject everything that was imposed on it in the past in the name of the so-called "political purposefulness." It will be a civilian institution, exclusively subjected to the law.

[Statkov] Is there anything we do not know about the militia? Could the archives be a source....

[Velichkov] If there really is anything secret, it is not in our hands but in the hands of the ministry.

[Statkov] Your employees have the feeling that the militia is the stepchild of the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Velichkov] Perhaps this is related to the fact that the commanders of our operational units are representatives of the Security Services. In the past the directors of the militia also were representatives of those services. Internal normative documents regulated the fact that the State Security services directed and controlled the activity of all units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Statkov] Nevertheless, when will you get a "divorce" from the secret services?

[Velichkov] It is our firm position that the militia must be an independent organization, incorporated within the structure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It must have financial, cadre, and organizational independence. Its central and territorial structure should be subjected to vertical discipline. The minister, who is a political figure, must implement general leadership of all units and services. The operational leadership of those units and services, including the militia, must be in the hands of their respective directors. [passage omitted]

Agrarian MP's Initiative To Unite Parties

AU0803085691 Sofia BTA in English 2145 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Sofia, March 7 (BTA)—Legislatures of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Nikola Petkov BZNS (member of the Union of Democratic Forces) have launched an initiative for yet another attempt to unite the two agrarian parties. United and strong, the BZNS is the only one to rely on in removing the Bulgarian Communist (now Socialist) Party [BCP] from power, the MP's state in their appeal. They remind that there are too many parties in the country (about 50), but none of them is strong enough.

The BZNS and the Nikola Petkov BZNS have been making attempts to unite ever since the former broke with its former tutor—the BCP, and the latter was restored as an organization after the removal of the totalitarian regime. In many places of the country their local organizations work together. In the latest appeal, which is signed by all MP's of the BZNS, including its leader Viktor Vulkov, and by most of the MP's of the Nikola Petkov BZNS except for their leader Milan Drenchev, the main point at issue is not mentioned at all—whether the united BZNS should, or should not remain in the Union of Democratic Forces. The document circulated by the BTA Courier Press Service was drafted on the initiative of the Nikola Petkov BZNS and blames the leaderships of the two agrarian parties for not having reached an agreement on their merger because of narrow-mindedness and mutual mistrust.

There have been some talk again of late about the possibility of the Nikola Petkov BZNS' participation in the next elections with a list of their own. Their union with the BZNS would give them greater chances, if the Nikola Petkov BZNS leaves the Union of Democratic Forces.

Slovak Groups Issue Sovereignty Declaration

LD0803091191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Nationalist-oriented Slovak movements and initiatives have produced a draft declaration on state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic. Among these movements and initiatives are: Sovereign Slovakia—61 steps Toward Slovak Identity [Svrchovane Slovensko—61 Kroku Ke Slovenske Identite]; the Slovak National Democratic Movement [Slovenske Narodne Demokraticke Hnuti]; the Stur Society [Sturova Spolecnost]; Roots, The Slovak Intelligentsia Association [Roots, Spolek Slovenske Inteligence]; and Synthesis-90 [Synteza 90].

The draft declaration provides, among other things, for the supremacy of Slovak National Council laws over Federal Asssembly laws on the Slovak Republic territory. The Slovak Republic should form its own economic and finance system, as well as its own armed forces and state and civic security bodies. The draft declaration says that after promulgating its sovereignty, the Slovak Republic proposes to the Czech Republic to conclude a state cooperation treaty.

The declaration was rejected by the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding. The response of the Slovak intelligentsia, whose viewpoint was presented at a meeting in Bratislava last night, is also negative. The Club of Nonaligned Activists called on all citizens of Czechoslovakia, regardless of their nationality, to defend the Republic and its fragile democracy. It appealed to them to manifest their will to continue living in a united democratic state of Czechs and Slovaks at 1600 on 15 March. On the contrary, the meeting in support of the declaration will be held on 10 March in Bratislava by the Slovak National Party. A nationwide rally for Slovak sovereignty has been convened by Matica Slovenska to take place in Bratislava the next day.

Slovak Government Opposes Rally Broadcasts

LD0803092691 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky has told a CTK correspondent about the position of the Slovak Government Council for Information Policy and Mass Media concerning live television and radio relays of the rallies that have been announced. In Bratislava, for example, they are to be organized by Matica Slovenska and the Slovak National Party. Jan Carnogursky recalled that the Council recommended that Slovak Television not broadcast live relays from meetings of this kind. They are addressed by the citizens who are not necessarily representative of society and of the scope of its political mood. Cameramen or producers are unable to make an immediate assessment of this fact. Furthermore, calls going beyond the framework of the legal code could be voiced at the meetings, Jan Carnogursky noted.

VPN Statement on State of Movement

LD0603235391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] The Public Against Violence [VPN] movement has submitted a report on the state of the movement that the coalition partners have acknowledged while noting that the situation in VPN is its internal affair. The coalition partners have agreed to continue supporting the government program of the Slovak Government. The coalition partners then agreed to support the policy of the radical economic reform during transition to market economy while highlighting specific conditions of the Slovak Republic.

The coalition partners have discussed the situation regarding preparation of the constitutions of the Slovak Republic and the CSFR and have so far agreed on the principles anchored in the following: a) creation of constitutions going from the bottom up, from the principle of sovereignty of national republics, and b) consistent adherence to the constitution in the process of the creation and approving of constitutions.

Gal Wants Knazko, Meciar Recalled

AU0703125291 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 6 Mar 91 p 1

[Text] Shortly before our newspaper went to press, Fedor Gal, chairman of the Public Against Violence [VPN] Council, presented the following draft resolution [at the extraordinary session of the VPN Council in Bratislava on 5 March]:

1. Should it be proved that [in his television address on 3 March] Minister Knazko violated the principles and the political ethics of the movement, it is proposed that he be recalled;

2. Should it be proved that Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar lied in his statements, it is proposed that the same action be taken;

3. In view of the tense situation in the movement, it is proposed that members of the VPN Council once again elect the council chairman.

At the same time Fedor Gal stressed the political responsibility of the movement, its responsibility before citizens and its own members base.

Meciar Reacts to Gal

AU0703125591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Mar 91 p 1

[Report on interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by unidentified reporter in Bratislava on March 5; CTK report: "Confrontation of Concepts"]

[Text] Bratislava— An extraordinary session of the Slovak Public Against Violence [VPN] Council was held in Bratislava yesterday. During an intermission late in

the evening, the CTK correspondent asked Prime Minister V. Meciar for a brief interview:

[Reporter] What is your reaction to Fedor Gal's proposal that you be recalled?

[Meciar] I expected it. Internal political developments have been heading toward this for several weeks. One only had to decide how to present the problem in such a way that the public would accept it. I am neither surprised by what happened, nor has it come about by coincidence. I take note of that proposal and will not undertake anything against it if it really happens [that I am recalled from the post of prime minister].

[CTK] Would you resign?

[Meciar] No, a resignation would mean an admission of guilt, and there is nothing that I should admit to.

[CTK] What do you think about the proposal that Minister Knazko be recalled?

[Meciar] If Knazko goes, I will go with him.

Details of Split in VPN Slovak Council Ranks

AU0703144991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Mar 91 p 2

[Jan Fuele report: "A Confrontation Involving Concepts"]

[Text] Bratislava—An extraordinary meeting of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council began shortly after 1700 [1600 GMT] yesterday. Those who had expected a stormy atmosphere were mistaken. First of all, the meeting's participants elected five members to the VPN Slovak Council in a secret ballot.

Shortly after 1830 [1730 GMT], a crowd of several hundred people chanting slogans such as "Come out you Judases" and "We will not give up Meciar" gathered below the windows of the VPN offices on Bratislava's Jiraskova Street and considerably disrupted the course of the meeting. This did not prevent Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak from speaking. He called his speech a confession. He talked about the three lies Prime Minister Meciar uttered at the VPN republican assembly in Topolcany. As he emphasized, it is not true that the Czechs do not want to give us coal; on the contrary, we are being threatened with competition from the Czech coal industry. It is not true that we will not be supplied with electricity from the Czech Lands; all supply orders have been confirmed. It is not true that the Czechs were disparaging about work carried out by the East Slovak Ironworks; this enterprise has other orders, and everything else is part of normal relations between enterprises. Apart from this, he said that one of the lawyers has stopped working with the prime minister on the new constitution because, according to him, it was being drafted in such a way that virtually anything could be asserted in it. Jozef Kucerak spoke about several occasions when, thanks to the prime minister, the federation came very close to disintegration. He stated that constantly emphasizing national aspects will lead to national socialism. He told how the prime minister summoned two of his ministers—in the presence of the deputy ministers—to show them people who had been paid StB [State Security] agents. "One of them burst into tears," said Jozef Kucerak. He also refuted the attempts to make Fedor Gal out to be an informer. The information about the deputy prime minister's alleged collaboration came from another VPN member. This was later confirmed by Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko. At the end of his speech, Jozef Kucerak stated that the truth is more important than lust for power. He emphasized once again that there are forces in the government capable of breaking up the federation, forces orienting economic reform toward national socialism directed by gentlemen who were unsuccessful in 1968. "I do not want to work in a government with such tendencies and crying ministers," said Jozef Kucerak at the end of his speech.

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar spoke after Jozef Kucerak. One of the first sentences he uttered was: "If I remain in the government, the ministers will burst into tears from exhaustion; if they do not do so, then tens of thousands of citizens will." He spoke about the course of the screenings and described them as one of the issues that are systematically threatening the government's stability, adding that he himself does not know how to find a defense against them. He described the attacks against himself as base. He stated that the incident in front of the television building had not been prepared by anyone. He claimed that the first attempt to censure his speeches was made after the VPN republican assembly.

In connection with the situation within the VPN, he said that, prior to the elections, he had called for respect for differences of opinion. Now, when the level of differences is such that the groups involved are unable to mutually respect each other, Prime Minister Meciar is expressing them outside.

He described the loss of the membership base, the results of the local elections, and the inability to win over a certain sector of the population as the movement's principle failures. At the end of his speech, he expressed his regret that, instead of defending the government's program, he had to defend himself.

Following his short speech, which was matter-of-fact and rewarded with applause, V. Meciar said: "Come to a decision yourselves on how to deal with Meciar; however, it is unnecessary to do it in such an ill-considered way as Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak has attempted."

Milan Knazko spoke after the prime minister. He criticized Jozef Kucerak, Fedor Gal, and members of the VPN Coordinating Center.

Following an extraordinary session of the VPN Deputies' Club, Peter Tatar suggested that more talks should be held on whether Vladimir Meciar and Milan Knazko should remain in their posts. At this moment, the prime minister was not in the assembly hall. Stanislav Cecetka

was waiting to make his speech. The prime minister returned, but immediately after he found out that one of the delegates wanted to talk about him, he left the room.

In another discussion, Miroslav Kusy said that from the beginning he was against identifying the movement with the government and Prime Minister Meciar. After all, the government is a coalition government and the prime minister is a representative of it. He stated that the constant demands for support on his part had led the movement into the situation in which it now finds itself. In conclusion, he accused Milan Knazko of ascribing political power to the VPN Coordinating Center and not to the government. He described this as political ignorance. Minister Knazko left the room after this.

Shortly before 2130 [2030 GMT], the chairman of the VPN Slovak Council proposed the following course of action: If it turns out that the statements made by Milan Knazko contained lies, it will be necessary to recommend to our coalition partners that he be recalled from his post as a Slovak Republic Government minister. He proposed the same course of action in the case of Vladimir Meciar. At the same time, he suggested to the VPN Slovak Council that it should again elect its chairman.

The discussion on these issues continued until late into the night.

VPN Leader Denies Censorship of Meciar Address

AU0703161491 Prague CTK in English 1418 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 5 (CTK)—Fedor Gal, leader of the Slovak Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, said today that the present conflict between the VPN leadership and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is no personal dispute but a conflict of principles of seeing the need for public control of power, democracy and pursuing policy.

The conflict was set off by Sunday's TV address by Slovak External Relations Minister Milan Knazko, stating that VPN intended censoring the prime minister's statements.

Gal said the VPN leadership never consulted with Meciar his speeches but after the VPN congress at the end of February the differences of opinion between Meciar and the VPN leadership sharpened and "this was why we wanted to know what the prime minister would talk about". Meciar who was to speak on TV on Sunday refused to do so after being told that the tape with his address would be passed to the VPN leadership.

If Meciar loses the confidence of the VPN, which delegated him to the post of prime minister, and claims broad public support, "there is something that is not in order", Gal said, adding that Meciar had been publicly supported by political groupings in opposition to the VPN.

Referring to Monday's talks between the Czechoslovak president and representatives of legislative bodies and political forces about work on the three constitutions (federal, Czech and Slovak), Gal said "we are all interested in the stability and development of a common state but there still exist contentious points requiring discussion, adding that one of these points was the insistence of the Christian Democratic Movement on the conclusion of a state treaty between the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

Knazko Defends His Slovak Television Speech

AU0703164991 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Mar 91 p 13

[Excerpt from an interview with Slovak International Relations Minister Milan Knazko by unidentified reporter carried in PRACA No. 54; place and date not given; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Minister M. Knazko's speech [on Slovak Television on 3 March] has caused a stormy reaction. Therefore, PRACA No. 54 asked him to reply to a few questions.

[PRACA] Why was this dispute not aired at the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement's assembly?

[Knazko] There was simply no room for it at the assembly. Other problems were resolved there. In fact, what I expected to happen did not happen. That is, that the VPN Slovak Council would be reelected and that the plenum would elect the movement's chairman directly as, for example, is the case in the Civic Forum. I think this is the most democratic method. Apart from this, I did not think that some people would resort to such practices as censorship and whipping up a campaign against V. Meciar. Therefore, I considered it necessary to inform the public of this issue. I was afraid that the situation of three months ago would be repeated—when the Slovak Government was without a prime minister for 48 hours.

In this connection, the demagogic slogan of so-called "national socialism" is being used. However, I am convinced that the issue merely involves fulfilling the government's program and one of its pillars, which is a national pillar. If we want to develop all five pillars, we cannot intentionally suppress the national one.

VPN Official Comments on Meciar Scandal

AU0703180491 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 5 Mar 91 pp 1,2

[Statement by Juraj Flamik, chairman of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement Coordinating Center: "Disregarding Popularity"]

[Text] Several speeches last week by the prime minister and even more the Sunday television address by Minister Knazko seem to have given the public the impression that the Slovak prime minister, who was elected as a candidate of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN], might have enemies in that movement. I do not believe this to be the problem. He, as a person, does not have and never has had enemies in the movement. It

would be complete nonsense to think that the VPN Coordinating Center is his enemy. As the chairman of the VPN Coordinating Center, I am in charge of running an ordinary office—a service center of the movement, minimally staffed at that—without any political power. This facility cannot be a political enemy to anyone, and it is absurd to even try to imagine that it could influence political decisions by the VPN movement. Both the minister and the prime minister know it well. The man who wants to fight will find an enemy. However, since the VPN Coordinating Center is not an enemy, who are the enemies of Minister Knazko or, as the case may be, of the Slovak prime minister? This is how the question should be phrased and answered.

I consider it necessary to return to one of the January sessions of the VPN Slovak Council. Prime Minister Meciar's candidacy for the top post in the movement was discussed there very openly. I am not far from the truth if I say that about four-fifths of those present favored the status quo—i.e., the division of power. A certain lack of cooperativeness on the part of Vladimir Meciar was mentioned, his frequent confrontations, and the fact that he often does the unexpected. However, these were not the reasons for the majority rejecting the personal union [of powers]. The motives lie elsewhere—they are concrete and carefully considered. Although on a short-term basis the popularity of the prime minister would enhance the movement's prestige in public, in the long run, with the expected economic difficulties and numerous political problems, the effect might be the reverse, and the prime minister's popularity could be impaired. The present state preserves the principle of collective decisionmaking, based on the cooperation of all five VPN chairmen (the movement chairman, legislative chairmen, prime ministers) and on their collaboration in the VPN Slovak Council, and it provides the possibility of avoiding mistakes by any individual. An additional advantage is that none of the movement's top representatives will have a burden heavier than he is able to carry physically or mentally—after all, we all know how many hours are in the working day of the chairman of the VPN Slovak Council or of the Slovak prime minister. Arguments of this type were among the most frequent ones.

The assembly proceedings last week answered the question regarding the person heading the movement in a democratic and quite clear manner. I had a feeling, however, that a group of districts coordinated its activities in an attempt to disrupt the agenda by raising numerous procedural questions and to convince people that some changes must be made and that the prime minister approves of these changes. In the end, however, the delegates expressed their willingness to maintain the current form of leadership that does not grant any of the representatives the power to oppose the collective body.

Numerous delegates used the discussion of the assembly's concluding statement as a platform for expressing their great dissatisfaction with and criticism of the prime minister—Mr. Meciar himself spoke of this, and he is right on this point. I personally consider this to be proof of the movement's political self-confidence and a demonstration of a healthy atmosphere in the movement, in which no themes are taboo and no personality is above criticism.

I have to admit here that even at the assembly, I had the feeling that the prime minister would not be able to cope with the way things turned out. Even before the assembly was concluded, he used impromptu press conferences in the lobby to criticize the Coordinating Committee and the assembly proceedings, he predicted the split in the movement, condemned alleged demonstrations of extremism at this supreme meeting of the movement, etc. My impression has eventually been confirmed by the prime minister's regular ten-minute speech on the day of the closing of the assembly (he left the assembly hall before the concluding statement was approved, although he remained in the building) and the next day again in the radio-journal. In these speeches, he again spoke of the enemy in the movement and even identified it as the Coordinating Center. He was apparently preparing the public for a fundamental step to be taken against the legitimate leadership of the movement or just against some of its members.

An excuse for this step was the information on the alleged censorship of the prime minister's speech on television. As a member of the Ministerial Club, I must corroborate the declaration that no such decision has ever been adopted, and I cannot imagine that any board would be able to implement it. Censorship is a serious matter—it means to cross out or erase some parts of a speech or even to prevent the speech altogether. Does the prime minister really want to assert that any VPN body—if it decided on such an action theoretically—would have the means to actually carry it out?

In this context, I would like to point out again that there is no basis for linking the VPN Coordinating Center to this "event," but apparently this has been done for some reason. On the other hand, it is true that a regular session of the Ministerial Club took place on Friday [1 March] at which the members observed that the prime minister's statements carried by the media deviated from facts, and the normal proceeding would have been to discuss beforehand with the prime minister, who is a member of the movement, any seminal statements having other than a personal character.

There is a possibility, however, that this session of the Ministerial Club touched another of the prime minister's sensitive spots. The agenda included some personnel work of the movement and an appointment of some deputy ministers. I have the feeling that one of these sensitive spots might concern the person of Mr. Svechota at the Ministry of the Interior, who has allegedly been proposed by the VPN movement, but I believe that it is not so.

In conclusion, I feel the need to comment on one more thing. The VPN political representation, despite all the problems both internally and in its relations with the

coalition partners, sought conciliation. It has been demonstrated that, on occasion, its suppression of the conflicts and some facts went too far. It is irresponsible to count on the ignorance of the public and on the popularity of some protagonists in the conflicts. In this situation, the truth should be told.

Meciar Addresses Slovak National Council

LD0703190891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar today informed the deputies of the Slovak National Council about the last working meeting of representatives of the state political representation of Czechoslovakia on the draft of the new constitution. He said that the communique from the meeting was the result of compromise. He said that the draft constitution must recognize the priority of the republics from whom the rights of the federal bodies are to be subsequently derived. These views are subject to discussion, which is still continuing, said Vladimir Meciar, and added that they will be discussed again next time.

The Slovak prime minister informed the deputies that the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] insists on its viewpoint. It demands that both republics conclude a state treaty, and the federal constitution should be derived from it. According to Vladimir Meciar, there was also another option that was presented and is being discussed; that is, that there could be a declaration of both National Councils that would recognize the existence of Czechoslovakia and the will to live in a joint state and would confirm the right of the federal bodies to adopt a constitution. The treaty would guarantee the right of nations to self-determination by giving them the right to leave the union.

In connection with adopting the constitutions, Vladimir Meciar described the development on the Moravian politican scene as unknown. He confirmed that drafts of the constitution of the federation have been handed over at Prague Castle and that President Vaclav Havel has also introduced his own draft.

The meeting of the Slovak National Council continued with a discussion on topical political issues. The deputies spoke critically about the drafting of the constitution so far. They criticized the negative consequences of economic reform and quoted historical facts to prove that, despite the effort to coexist with the Czech nation, the Slovaks never fought for a unitarian but for a dualistic state—that is for a state of two nations.

VPN for Democratic Slovakia Club Holds Meeting

LD0703170391 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Deputies of the Slovak National Council, who endorsed the new platform of Public Against Violence [VPN] for Democratic Slovakia, met in the building of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava today at the first meeting of their Club. They elected Deputy Milan Secansky as their chairman. He is chairman of the Legal and Constitutional Committee of the Slovak National Council. Federal Assembly Deputy Roman Zelenay has become interparliamentary rapporterur. Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar was also taking part in the meeting.

The participants in the first meeting of the Club of the Deputies of VPN for Democratic Slovakia have stressed that their aim is not to separate it from VPN, but the idea is to preserve a certain autonomy within the framework of further cooperation.

Calfa Accuses Rival Faction of 'Craving' Power

AU0703155291 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 5 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Marian Calfa Replies to a Question From Our Editorial Office"]

[Text] Minister Knazko's Sunday [3 March] speech means an open political crisis in Slovakia. Wherein do you see possibilities for quickly resolving this critical situation and preventing a split in the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement?

[Calfa] The results of the Topolcany VPN Assembly are clear. Its participants gave clear priority to democratic forms of work of the VPN movement and to the implementation of all the aspects of its electoral platform. In his speech Minister Knazko essentially refused to democratically accept the conclusions of the assembly. It is startling that he is trying to create the impression, on the basis of half-truths and pieces of misinformation, that there exist unbridgeable disagreements within the VPN. In the final analysis, the assembly, which was attended by a large number of delegates from the districts, expressed the movement's unity and it is therefore not clear what disagreements Minister Knazko has in mind. What is the actual situation [in the movement]? On the one side stand numerous rank-and-file members of the movement, deputies, and ministers who collectively seek the best ways toward the implementation of the movement's electoral program for Slovakia's benefit. On the other side is Minister Knazko, who rejects this search and does not even participate in it within the movement's framework. Minister Knazko's favorite enemy thus far have been as yet undefined forces of the federation. Now his sallies have turned against the movement's representatives who have been democratically elected to Slovak bodies. I am unable to suppress the thought that this no longer has anything to do with the interests of the movement and the interests of Slovakia but that what matters here is nothing but personal power. If, moreover, methods of confrontation are permanently used in this craving for power, one cannot ignore it ad infinitum, let alone yield to it. The VPN movement does not have responsibility for the ambitions of its leading representatives but for the citizens of

Slovakia as a whole. I expect the conclusions from the session of the Slovak VPN Council that will meet in Bratislava [on 5 March] to reflect this fact.

Dubcek Supports Meciar in VPN 'Conflict'

AU0703153291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Mar 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Dubcek Supports Meciar"]

[Text] Chairman of the CSFR Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek said in an interview about the situation in the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, among other things: "The leadership of the VPN Coordinating Center has gotten into a serious conflict with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. I have been trying to bring about a consensus, but to no avail. The conflict has escalated. It has become even more dramatic by the known case of Mr. Meciar's letter to Mr. Kucerak [in which Meciar requested clarification of Kucerak's alleged collaboration with the secret police], with respect to which the VPN Coordinating Center suspects the prime minister of evil intentions. V. Meciar and the whole government have demonstrated by their work their ability to deal with the burning problems of Slovakia. I have supported Vladimir Meciar in this difficult work. He has also gained the trust of the people. I am of the opinion that he should continue to head the Slovak Republic Government.

[On the same page, NARODNA OBRODA carries a 100-word "r"-signed report on a fax that Alexander Dubcek sent to the 5 March emergency Bratislava session of the VPN Council. Dubcek, who was unable to participate in the session personally, reportedly "disagreed with the proposal to recall" Prime Minister Meciar and "recommended that the possibility be considered of constituting two currents within the VPN movement."]

Civic Forum Rejects Interference Charge

AU0703151891 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 6 Mar 91 p 2

[CTK report: "They Have Surprised Us"]

[Text] "The Civic Forum Club of Deputies in the Federal Assembly rejects Minister Knazko's insinuations [in his 3 March television speech] that the Civic Forum in some way interfered in the internal affairs of the Public Against Violence movement or in the dispute within its leadership," says a statement of the Civic Forum Club of Deputies that Jan Sokol, chairman of the club, presented to CTK. "His defamation of the constitutional law on division of powers and attacks on 'federal bodies' in general have surprised us all the more, as in the Federal Assembly Deputy Knazko never spoke in this way," the statement stresses.

Slovak Nationalists Call For All-National Rally

AU0703160291

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 6 March on page 6, under the headline "Invitation From the Slovak National Heritage Foundation," carries a 300-word statement by Jozef Markus, chairman of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation, in which he calls for "an all-national rally for the sovereignty of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava on 11 March 1991 at 1600." The aim of this rally is to push for the adoption of a "Declaration of the Slovak National Council on the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic" as "the only democratic way of completing the shaping of Slovak statehood under current conditions." According to Markus, this rally is necessary because "some circles close to the ruling representation of the Slovak Republic" are "trying to thwart or at least delay" the declaration of Slovak sovereignty.

Commission Hears Havel Testimony on Nov 89 Events

LD0703213391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] The Federal Assembly investigation commission set up to clarify the events of the 17 November 1989 heard the testimony of CSFR President Vaclav Havel. It focused on 17 November 1989 and the events that both preceded and followed.

Vaclav Havel replied quite openly to all the questions and repeated that the talks conducted by himself, as well as Civic Forum, have been recorded. The tapes are available to the investigation commission and have never been secret.

After the hearing, which lasted two hours, the commission briefed the president on the current progress of the investigations.

Former CPCZ Officials Face Prosecution

LD0603235491 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Extensive work on uncovering criminal activity is under way in the office of the Federal Ministry of the Interior for investigating anticonstitutional activity in connection with the unjustified acquisition of Czechoslovak state property by the Communist Party. Vasil Bilak and a substantial group of other leading officials of the former regime are to be prosecuted for the crimes of violating binding rules of economic relations, undermining the hard-currency economy, and instigation to the crime of abusing the post of a public official. Further information, however, is not available because more detailed information about the investigation could seriously undermine further progress.

CPCZ Leader Wants To Change Party Name

AU0703143991 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Mar 91 p 2

[Interview with Pavol Kanis, chairman of the Federal Council of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, by Vlastimil Bradac; place and date not given: "I Am In Favor of Changing the Name"—opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] Pavol Kanis, chairman of the Federal Council of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], returned on Friday [1 March] from a week-long visit to Portugal. We asked him about the aim of this trip:

[Kanis] We are resuming contacts with our partner parties in Western Europe. We want to learn from them how to practice opposition policy. This is something we cannot do. Many views on the CPCZ's work and activity are rather an expression of an "internal neurosis" that we are no longer the ruling party. It is as though some people in our ranks refused to acknowledge our political defeat. We believe that an exchange of experience can be useful in this situation. [passage omitted]

[Bradac] In the meantime, rather important things have been going on within the CPCZ. It is particularly the direction of developments within the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia that arouses concern. This has been pointed out, among others, by Deputies V. Mohorita and M. Kraus in RUDE PRAVO.

[Kanis] Even left-wing parties in the West are no examples of unity today. There is turmoil of some kind in each one of them. As a matter of fact, the disagreements within our party are not merely a consequence of our defeat. I read both interviews that you mentioned right after my arrival [from Portugal]. These are complicated questions, but I would briefly say the following: Everyone has the right to choose the party that suits him and the people with whom he wants to be in this party.

[Bradac] What is your opinion on the change in the name of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia?

[Kanis] I make no secret of the fact that I am in favor of the party changing its name because its name corresponds neither to the party's character nor to its program. Even Portuguese Communists were ultimately ready to acknowledge that, from the viewpoint of politics, the name is not all that significant. Hoever, this is not to say that the name need not be changed now for precisely that reason. Quite the contrary, it makes no sense to turn the name into some kind of an irrational value and interpret its change as being almost a betrayal.

[Bradac] Thank you for the interview.

Retired General Denies 'Secret Service' Activity

AU0703155891

[Editorial Report] Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 6 March on page 2, under the headline "I Do Not Want To Get Involved in This," carries a 300-word interview with Retired Major General Stanislav Prochazka, by F. Lauer. The place of the 5 March interview is not given. Prochazka had been nominated as the head of a joint defense and security commission involving political parties affiliated in the "Octet."

In reply to a question on how he feels about his nomination, the major general replies: "I have not been appointed. I know nothing about it." He added that he was "surprised" to see his name mentioned in a letter sent by Colonel Zbynek Cerovsky, head of the Czechoslovak People's Party Defense and Security Commission, to the other political parties affiliated in the "Octet" in which he proposes that they establish secret and informative security centers. According to Prochazka, the letter had been sent before he was consulted.

Asked if he has discussed this issue with anyone else, Prochazka replies: "No, only with Mr. Cerovsky whom I know very well. He was convinced that I would join in. Therefore, he nominated me." He claims that he does not want to "get involved" in any security activity in Czechoslovakia.

Parties React to 'Intelligence Service' Letter

AU0603174591 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 4 Mar 91 p 1

[Jan Subert report: "They Reject a Secret Service"]

[Text] Surprise, amazement, rejection, and complete agreement with overt and non-surreptitious cooperation is how the points of view adopted by some political parties apropos the letter sent to them by Colonel Cerovsky, head of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Defense and Security Commission, may be characterized. The above-mentioned letter, appealing for the establishment of secret and informative security centers, was published on Thursday 28 February by ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY and LIDOVE NOVINY.

Let us repeat that the letter—with the Czechoslovak People's Party letterhead—is dated 8 February 1991, is signed by Colonel Engineer Zbynek Cerovsky, and is addressed to the political parties affiliated in the so-called "Octet." The text of the letter contains a proposal to establish a joint central defense and security commission. Colonel Cerovsky proposed that this commission be headed by General Stanislav Prochazka, former commander of the Western Military District. The conjecture that "future development on the domestic political scene will be very dramatic" is given as the reason for taking such a step.

Of course, most interest was aroused by the author's reference to keeping the commission's work a secret; this will

involve computer processing and analyzing the information acquired. No less interest was aroused by the conclusion of the text which states: "I am sending you a questionnaire in the appendix that should be completed by the representatives nominated by you to the defense and security commission. Information from this questionnaire will be transferred, for reasons of secrecy, to a computer and written documents will be destroyed."

In connection with the above-mentioned letter, we ascertained the following statements and points of view from some of the political parties affiliated in the so-called "Octet":

Agrarian Party Central Secretary Stanislav Kozak—"We were amazed and embarrassed after reading the article published in your newspaper on 28 February when, under the headline "A Shadow Secret Service," you present readers, among other things, with the suggestive interpretation that the Agrarian Party has something to do with Colonel Engineer Cerovsky's letter. We are in no way cooperating with this gentleman; we read the text of this letter in your newspaper."

Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Secretary Dr. Engineer Pavel Hirs—"We are interested in the security of people and their property. We are interested in ensuring that a quality police law is drafted. The police should be separated into a local force and a state force. This was also the reason we welcomed the CSL's initiative contained in the abovementioned letter, which was discussed with me by the CSL side beforehand. If the joint security section pursues the task I have mentioned, we will be willing to cooperate. However, we fundamentally reject the establishment of some kind of covert service. There are other organs for this and let us put our trust in them. As evidence of our openness, I will tell you the names of the representatives we have nominated to Colonel Cerovsky to serve on the joint commission. They are Vitezslava Kluzova and Frantisek Pernica."

Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party Central Secretary Engineer Jaroslav Tuma—"Within the framework of contacts between political parties, Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party Chairman Professor Dr. Horak was also informed in advance by Colonel Cerovsky about the plans to establish a joint commission within the "Octet" to deal with defense and security issues. The Czechoslovak People's Party specified its proposal in a letter, but our party has not expressed a point of view on it and I do not think we would accept the proposal. However, I will obviously concur with the views of a sizable number of citizens when I say that the situation within the Army is not only confused, it is also very unsatisfactory. Of course, I am convinced that it is necessary to resolve this problem by normal legislative means."

Free Farmers' Party Chairman Vladislav Hlavko—"First of all, it is necessary to state that we are not members of the "Octet"; we have only associated ourselves with some of its documents and statements that express our opinions. I have been informed about the establishment of a joint security commission. Of course, as you know, our field of interest lies elsewhere. We have neither joined Colonel Cerovsky's commission nor are we cooperating with it."

[Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 5 March on page 4, under the headline "Will There Be 'Total Opposition,'" carries a 1,200- word interview with CSL Chairman Josef Lux by Petr Novacek. The following question and answer relate to the "Octet" issue:

[Novacek] A great deal has been said recently about the CSL Defense and Security Commission headed by Colonel Engineer Z. Cerovsky. Our newspaper has obtained a confidential letter which we made public on 28 February in an article entitled "A Shadow Secret Service." Are you able to comment on this?

[Lux] As far as I am aware, Colonel Cerovsky has invited similar commissions or teams to cooperate not just from the political parties in the so-called "Octet," but from all parties—except the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Civic Forum. For example, both the Civic Forum and political parties in the West have such commissions. The aim of our commission is to provide CSL deputies with background materials and information necessary for formulating the party's program.]

Socialist Party Elects New Central Secretary

AU0603181691 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 5 Mar 91 p 1

["sch"-signed report: "From a Session of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Board"]

[Excerpt] Yesterday's meeting of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Board [zastupitelstvo], which was essentially its first working meeting after the 25th party congress, elected P. Hirs Czechoslovak Socialist Party central secretary by secret ballot. M. Horsky, deputy director of the MELANTRICH publishing house for economic affairs, was appointed its director effective 1 April. Thanks were conveyed to J. Sykora, the present director of MELANTRICH, for his management of the enterprise thus far. The Board also discussed the party's position on the transit [through Czechoslovakia] of Soviet troops [returning home from Germany], physical culture, and the immigration law. [passage omitted]

National Democratic Party Resumes Activity

LD0603234791 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] The National Democratic Party is resuming activity in a legal way after more than 50 years. The statement says that it is a democratic right-wing party with alternative liberal and social elements. It is fully in favor of the land set-up and a thorough purification of the public and economic life.

Farmers Cooperatives Voice Support for Reform

AU0703162091 Prague CTK in English 2129 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 5 (CTK)— Representatives of Czechoslovak Farmers told Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today that the transition to a market economy has failed and was doomed to failure as the liberalization of prices hit a barrier of monopolies of trade and processors.

At a meeting of farmers cooperatives union with Czechoslovak president Vaclav Havel today, chairman of the Czech/Moravian farmers' cooperative union Jan Fencl said that farmers want a just law and an economy which would decide the fate of agriculture in Czechoslovakia.

Representatives of more than one million cooperative farmers recalled that the present situation in agriculture has caused for instance the slaughtering of herds of cattle and pigs in Slovakia and that the disintegration of cooperative farms would cause a serious shortage of food on the home market.

Havel recalled that the Federal Assembly (parliament) is going to pass a bill on land and compared its significance with that of big privatization.

Chairman of the Statewide Union of Cooperative Farmers Emil Dufala said the representatives of cooperative farmers came to the castle to support the economic reform and justice. They were representatives of land owners who cultivate it as privates or members of cooperative farms.

Czech Agriculture Minister Bohumil Kubat told CTK on this occasion the president understands the nervousness of farmers as one and a half year after the November 1989 revolution a bill on land is still not prepared to be passed.

State Bank Releases Data on Outstanding Claims

AU0703164591 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Mar 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Repayment in Raw Materials"]

[Text] CSFR claims abroad, stemming from company and government credits, amounted to 145.6 billion korunas (approximately $5.2 billion) in convertible currencies and 34.2 billion korunas (about 3.8 billion transferable rubles) in other currencies at the end of last year. This information has been imparted by Czechoslovak State Bank officials. Of the claims in convertible currencies, the date for the repayment of 56 billion korunas worth of credits (almost 40 percent) has already expired. Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Algeria, and Libya have the lion's share in these "frozen" credits. The bulk of the aggregate claims in other currencies is accounted for mainly by government credits, which total 26.6 billion korunas. These claims are connected primarily with Czechoslovak participation in major integration projects and with long-term claims arising from deliveries of merchandise. Czechoslovak claims stemming from participation in integration projects will be repaid in raw material deliveries in the years 1993 to 2003. Assets stemming from long-term claims arising from deliveries of merchandise will be converted from transferable rubles to dollars at a one to one ratio, on the basis of an agreement.

Figures on Uranium Processing Published

AU0603163191 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 91 p 3

[Vladimir Vacha article: "What Will Come After Uranium...: MAPE Mydlovary Is Fighting for Survival"]

[Excerpts] As recently as 1981, the Uranium Ore Chemical Treatment Plant in Mydlovary, known best under the acronym MAPE, processed as much as 710,000 tonnes of uranium ore. This year it will process only 106,000 tonnes and next year a mere 15,000 tonnes of uranium ore. [passage omitted] The current production program will be completely phased out by 1 January 1993. Until then the plant will have to move to a new production program or it will simply have to be closed. [passage omitted]

Civic Forum Coordinating Committee Established

AU0703161891 Prague CTK in English 1710 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 5 (CTK)—The council of the Civic Forum met at its last session here today. It will be replaced as from now by the provisional Coordinating Committee, the umbrella body for the two streams into which the movement split at its last congress on February 23.

The two streams, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Civic Movement (OH) nominated five representatives each into the coordinating committee, including Vaclav Klaus (ODS) and Pavel Rychetsky (OH).

In view of the Civic Forum's financial difficulties, the council did not recommend to give 500,000 crowns in subsidy to the Romany Civic Initiative (ROI) asked by ROI for support of the activity of its apparatus.

Head of the reorganized Civic Forum coordinating center Vojtech Sedlacek was charged with taking steps towards termination of the publication of the Civic Forum daily, OBCANSKY DENIK, by the end of March. The civic movement is to decide within a week whether it will be interested in the Civic Forum weekly "FORUM". ODS has announced it is not interested in it. Both periodicals have had sales difficulties off late.

Civic Movement Establishes Own Parliamentary Group

LD0703211591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] A Civic Movement deputies' group within the framework of Civic Forum Deputies' Club in the Federal Assembly was founded yesterday at the first session by the

deputies elected for Civic Forum claiming allegiance to this rising movement. The group comprises 25 deputies so far. The Civic Movement group was also joined by 17 deputies from the independent group of Left Alternative.

New Civic Democratic Party Founded in Prague

LD0603213391 Prague Federal Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Vaclav Klaus registered himself on a preliminary basis at the latest district assembly of Civic Forum in Prague 9 today in a newly founded Civic Democratic Party. The overhelming majority of delegates in this district have registered in this party as well.

Buresova Responds to Moravian Demands

AU0603144191 Prague CTK in English 1829 GMT 4 Mar 91

[Text] Prague March 4 (CTK)—A government commission has elaborated and put forward these days four variants for the regional setup of Moravia and Silesia, all of them having their pluses and minuses, Chairwoman of the Czech National Council Dagmar Buresova said here today.

The Czech parliament chairwoman reacted in her interview with CTK to last weekend's demonstrations in Brno, Ostrava, and Olomouc at which self-government was demanded for Moravia and Silesia.

She recalled that as early as in May 1990 the Czech National Council approved a resolution condemning the abolition of the regional setup in Moravia in 1949 as an act which contributed to a deformed development in the Czechoslovak society.

She said that now the deputies will hear experts and analyze public opinion and study the four proposals to announce their findings in the first half of April. The final decision is to be made at the 17th session of the Czech National Council due on April 23-26. "Until then I beg the citizens in Moravia and Silesia to be patient," she added.

People's Party Sets Up Moravian Organization

AU0603143591 Prague CTK in English 1548 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Kromeriz, South Moravia, March 3 (CTK)— A two-day constituent congress of the Moravian-Silesian regional organization of the Czechoslovak People's Party which ended here today elected Jaroslav Mensik its chairman and decided its headquarters will be in Brno.

Mensik, who is from Frydek-Mistek, North Moravia, was until now a deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party.

About 200 delegates participating in the congress represented some 60,000 members of the Czechoslovak People's Party in Moravia and Silesia. They adopted a program in which they support the idea of a tripartite federation of the Czech, Moravian-Silesian, and Slovak Republics. According to them, this setup should be formed in three phases—establishment of regional offices, elaboration of a Czechoslovak Constitution embodying this fact, and the establishment of autonomous bodies.

Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party Jiri Karas said at the congress yesterday that "the political forces in this state are undergoing a deep crisis. The monolith of the ruling party is being shaken by internal disputes and the people are seeking in the political spectrum a party which would be a guarantee of firmness and unity."

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 4 March on page 8 carries a 100-word CTK report on the above congress; the report renders the vernacular name of the newly constituted organization as "Moravskoslezska zemska organizace Ceskoslovenske strany lidove"]

Moravians Reject Agreement on Constitution

AU0703155591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 6 Mar 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "The Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia Disagrees"]

[Text] According to Z. Vyhlidal, spokesman for the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD/SMS], the HSD/SMS is unable to identify with either the principles of the new Federal Constitution or the process of its passage as proposed at CSFR President V. Havel's Monday [4 March] talks with representatives of both Civic Forum currents, the Public Against Violence movement, and the Christian Democratic Movement in the Vikarka Restaurant in Prague.

Social, Economic Situation in Czech Republic

AU0603094591 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Mar 91 p 2

["c"-signed report: "Balance Sheet: Further Decline"]

[Text] A further decline in the performance of the economy in the Czech Republic and the greater imbalance within it is conveyed by the Czech Statistical Office [CSO] in its report on the social and economic development of the Czech Republic in 1990. The economic development was effected by some new internal conditions that accompany the transfer to the market economy and the conversion of the armament industry. The momentum also intensified the negative impacts from the past—particularly the low level of efficiency and the limited ability to compete in the market. Among the external impacts were the collapse of the CEMA market and the economic consequences of the Persian Gulf crisis.

According to a preliminary estimate by the CSO, in comparison with 1989, the physical volume of the gross domestic product declined by approximately 2 percent.

Organizational changes in the industry have not substantially disturbed the momentum of production. Compared with 1989, industrial production declined by 3.5 percent. Sectors like the fuel industry, energy production, and iron metallurgy, had the lion's share in this decline.

According to the preliminary results, the volume of gross agricultural production as compared with 1989 declined by 2 percent. Crop farming production declined by 1.1 percent, while animal farming production declined by 2.6 percent. These results reflect, among other things, the reduced purchasing of animal products caused by lower demand which, in turn, was brought about by an increase in the prices of animal products in the second half of the year. The purchase of slaughter animals (poultry is not included) declined in comparison with 1989 by 2.9 percent. It is apparently also correlated to the reduction of livestock (again, poultry is not included) in the Czech Republic.

The results of forestry were influenced, in addition to the negative impact of years of industrial pollution, by sizable disasters at the beginning of last year. Currently, over 57 percent of forests are suffering damage from harmful emissions. The year 1990 was characterized by increased water consumption in households as well as in the economy. It is disturbing that more than 230 million cubic meters of waste water was released into the water streams without any cleaning. The state program of ecologic investments had 2,410 million korunas spent in environment protection constructions. 1,547 million korunas of this amount was spent in water-purity protection, 362 million in protection of the atmosphere, and 236 million korunas in waste elimination.

The cost of fare increases in September 1990 resulted in a decline of interest in the train travel and partially also in domestic travel using the Czechoslovak Bus Transport company. The generally positive results last year of the Czechoslovak Bus Transport were made possible mostly by increased travel to the countries with convertible currency.

In the second half of the year, the first problems arose with the placement of people in employment. There was a total of 39,379 people unplaced in the Czech Republic at the end of the year, while the number of available jobs (57,000) could in principle absorb this unemployment.

Even in 1990, consumers were responding to the gradual increase in prices, particularly in food prices, by reducing demand. For example, there was 5.1 percent less meat sold, 5.8 percent butter, 4.1 percent bread, 11.9 percent sweets, and 17.5 percent less tropical fruit sold than in 1989.

Consumer prices at the end of 1990 were 17.5 percent higher than at the end of 1989. The greatest price increase was in food (23.7 percent)—about three-quarters of it were covered by the 140 koruna-compensatory allowance. The development in consumer prices was reflected in regular household expenditure, which was 18 percent higher in the last quarter than in the same period of 1989.

When compared with the development in recent years, the rate of growth of wages almost tripled. The savings on deposit of citizens declined. The total income of the population grew by 9.4 percent in comparison with 1989, real income, however, allowing for the price increase, remained approximately at the 1989 level.

The change in the number of private entrepreneurs was extraordinary. At the end of last year, 370,000 citizens were either entered in the business register or issued a license. According to the preliminary data of the CSO, their businesses were orientated mostly toward repairs, maintenance, and construction work—these are the center of activity of approximately one-fifth of the private businessmen—followed by retailing, engineering and consulting, services, and dress-making.

Meciar Discusses Constitutions, Catholic Church

AU0503145291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 1 Mar 91 p 13

[Reprint of interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Lukas Marvan and Dusan Mrna carried in REPORTER No. 8; place and date not given: "When Will It Be Most Difficult To Govern?"]

[Excerpts] [REPORTER] What do you think about Jan Carnogursky's aim of gradually turning Slovakia into an independent state?

[Meciar] The Christian Democratic Movement's [KDH] program is one that perceives the federation as a temporary solution and assumes that each republic should enter independently into a united Europe. I know that in this program the establishment of an independent Slovak state is not presented as an immediate issue since it would not be accepted from an international political, internal state, or internal Slovak point of view. I think the concept of a thoroughly decentralized federation under our conditions is the only real concept suitable to both nations. An independent Slovakia as a state entity is not—at the moment—realistic; it has neither political nor economic conditions for its existence. If it were to be established in a violent manner, it could only survive at the cost of great losses that would also palpably affect the Czech lands.

[REPORTER] Is drawing the federation's sovereignty from the republics' sovereignty not a reliable way of destroying the federation?

[Meciar] Each federation is formed from below—someone links up with someone else. Legal theory, recognized throughout the world for several centuries, speaks about the primacy of the citizen who passes higher laws. This is the only way of contributing toward the primacy of state entities. The state was not established first followed by the citizen.

[REPORTER] The citizen is the state's foundation stone. From this point of view, what is your opinion of the theory about a so-called state-forming nation?

[Meciar] Some Czech politicians have tried to convince me that they are more European than Czech, they ask what a nation really is, and so on. I reject such views because they lead to a loss of continuity with the ethnic group to which a person belongs. After all, I could be a European if I were a Czech, Slovak, or Hungarian.

[REPORTER] In your opinion, what should the relationship be like between the Federal Constitution and the republican constitutions?

[Meciar] As far as the federation is concerned, I believe a flexible federation system should exist. This means that constitutional laws on the federation should not be adopted the way they have been so far, when each change in jurisdiction is, in essence, a change in the constitutional arrangement. Laws should exist making flexible centralization or decentralization possible in accordance with the needs of the specific period. [passage omitted] We must get rid of our perception of the federation as a powerful and supreme center. It is apparent from this that changes in the information system, changes in the principles of personnel work, and many other things which today create an atmosphere of casting doubt on our interests are unavoidable. I imagine the constitution to be a relatively freely conceived legal framework whose administrative regulations will guarantee the possibility of a flexible reaction to the needs of practice in preserving constitutional stability. Of course, the constitutional court has to have the final decision making authority.

[REPORTER] The Catholic Church always had great influence in Slovakia. How do you view the future of the Catholic part of the political spectrum?

[Meciar] The Catholic Church should be independent of political parties. What I am seeing today is an attempt to identify the church with the KDH. I cannot agree with this. The Church is for both Public Against Violence movement members and for KDH members. A mistake is being made in Slovakia in this regard, a mistake that may negatively influence the Church and KDH development. It is impossible for a party to take religious teaching as the basis for its ideology.

[REPORTER] A certain part of the Czech public looks upon the Slovak Government's approach in its negotiations with the Czech or Federal Governments as unconstructive and forceful. Where do you think this attitude stems from?

[Meciar] Do we have specific conclusions? We have. All of them were reached jointly. There had to be some sort of consensus. If people are talking about the unconstructive attitude of the Slovak Government, let them ask themselves who, for example, put forward the purposeful plan for future development. We always put forward complex material as a proposal for discussion. We accepted diverse points of view. It is possible to calculate how many of our own proposals we made concessions on. As far as the emphasis with which we asserted the proposals is concerned, the law of physics applies here—actions and reactions are equal forces. At the same time, this did not involve the issue of relations between Czechs and Slovaks, but involved the functional nature of the state system that has developed here in recent years and was the reason for the fall of the previous regime. [passage omitted]

Citizens Want Military Aircraft Out of Ostrava

AU0603143991 Prague CTK in English 1430 GMT 3 Mar 91

[Text] Mosnov, North Moravia, March 3 (CTK)— Several dozens of citizens from Ostrava, North Moravia, and nearby towns and villages demonstrated near Ostrava-Mosnov airport today against the deployment of fighter planes at the airport.

On March 28, a group of fifteen MiG 21 and L 39 fighters landed at the airport despite earlier assurances by the Czechoslovak defense minister that the warplanes will not be sent there.

The demonstrators strongly demanded the departure of the planes. Air Force Commander Major-Gen. Ondrej Kubizniak who addressed the gathering told the demonstrators: "Give us a chance for a transitory period so that we could prove that our Air Force is able to behave tactfully and that it will not hinder the use of the airport for civil purposes."

In a statement issued on March 1, the Czechoslovak Defense Ministry said the arrival of the warplanes was announced to the town's representatives well in advance and the planes were ordered to Mosnov by the Council of State Defense, which decided about the redeployment of warplanes on the territory of the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

Slovak Media Legislation, Plans Discussed

LD0603224191 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] The Slovak Republic Government Council for Information Policy and Mass Media met in Bratislava today for its regular session on the preparation of new legislative norms on the mass media. Most discussing centered on bill on radio and television broadcasts, which also regulates licensing of private companies.

According to Jozef Miklosko, deputy federal prime minister, the Federal Assembly should discuss this bill in May.

The council also discussed the appeal of the staff of Slovak television connected with the recent accusation that its director attempted to help censor the address of Slovak prime minister Vladimir Meciar. In this connection the council supported the proposal to create a temporary council until the law of the Slovak National

Council on Slovak television is adopted. It did not adopt a viewpoint on recalling the director of Slovak television.

Slovak Government Picks Volkswagen BAZ Partner

AU0703162891 Prague CTK in English 2159 GMT 5 Mar 91

[Text] Bratislava March 5 (CTK)—The Slovak Government today agreed that the German car manufacturer Volkswagen become partner of the Bratislava automobile enterprise (BAZ) joint-stock company, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told journalists after the government's session here today.

According to Meciar, the agreement on cooperation will be signed next week and the first automobile produced in BAZ-VW cooperation is to leave the plant in December 1991.

Meciar said VW was given preference over the U.S. General Motors, another bidder, because it offered more advantageous conditions in eight out of ten criteria studied, including production prospects, the volume of investments and production, and job opportunities.

On February 5, the Slovak Government announced BAZ's partner would be General Motors. Meanwhile, talks continued also with Volkswagen whose offer was found more advantageous for the Bratislava manufacturer. General Motors decided to withdraw its bid before the final round of talks.

BAZ director Stefan Chudoba told CTK that after 22 years of existence and seven unclear concepts of development (which are also one of the causes of the BAZ debt of 1,400 million crowns, one U.S. dollar being 28 crowns), the enterprise will now get a firm production program.

Under it, the company would make 30,000 cars by 1995, and later 500,000 annually. The staff would grow from 1,500 at the beginning of joint production to 6,000 after 1995. Volkswagen also offers the annual production of 350,000 to 500,000 gear boxes, and engagement in cooperation within the car industry of other Slovak engineering enterprises.

Last December, Volkswagen was also chosen as partner for the Czech car maker Skoda at Mlada Boleslav, Central Bohemia. Its rival was Renault-Volvo.

At its session today, the Slovak Government also approved members of the mixed Slovak-Walloon commission which is to help promote cooperation between the Slovak Republic and Wallonia (Belgium) in the spheres of energy, industry, agriculture, ecology, water conservancy, forestry and training of managers.

Statistics Record Decline in Slovak Economy

AU0503104691 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Mar 91 p 2

[CTK report: "There Is No Reason To Be Pleased"]

[Text] Bratislava—In comparison with 1989, the volume of national income in Slovakia fell by more than three percent and unemployment reached 1.5 percent. Inflation reached nine percent last year. The rise in households' cost of living increased by 10.6 percent in 1990. However, citizens' real income (including social income) was less than in 1989.

The decline in production in all production branches—this was most significant in construction, engineering, in vegetable production, and in freight transportation—as well as a reduction in the foreign trade balance to the detriment of exports throughout the year contributed to the decline in the formation of economic assets. The state budget, including supplements, attained a shortfall amounting to two billion korunas. The volume of organizations' insolvency increased at the end of 1990 to 16.8 billion korunas. This is 14.2 billion korunas more than in 1989.

The course of the economy's organizational and ownership restructuring was influenced by the slow demonopolization process and by the delayed legislative amendments—restitution, privatization, and land ownership. Demonopolization was most significant in construction where the number of enterprises rose from 219 at the beginning of the year to 484. The number of enterprises in industry increased from 513 to 829 and in domestic trade from 273 to 405.

During the course of 1990, 175,000 people were interested in work on the labor market being established; of this number, 39,600 people were unemployed on 31 December 1990 (this figure was 60,000 on 31 January 1991). The average monthly gross salary in the state and cooperative sectors of the Slovak Republic's national economy achieved a level of 3,330 korunas (net salary was 2,739 korunas).

Retail prices for foodstuffs increased by an average of 11 percent in 1990; the population's real income fell by 3.1 percent.

Implementing housing construction slowed down. By the end of the year 24,629 apartments had been completed; this is 8,808 (26.3 percent) fewer apartments than in 1989.

Unfavorable tendencies continue in demographic development. There were 80,000 live births in 1990; this is 166 fewer than in 1989. A total of 54,500 people died, which is 600 more than in 1989.

The population increased by 25,000, which is 700 fewer than in 1989.

As of 31 December 1990, the population of the Slovak Republic was 5,310,700. This represents 33.8 percent of the CSFR population.

Antall Addresses Seminar on Market Economy

LD0603192391 Budapest MTI in English 1304 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Organized by the Managers Training Institute of the Budapest University of Economics, a seminar opened on Wednesday for roughly 1,000 state, private and co-operative company managers.

In his opening address, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall called for increased efforts in order to bring about a market economy based on private ownership and smoothe the country's way into the new integrating organizations.

The prime minister pointed out that having attracted thus far over half of all the working capital flooding into the East European region, Hungary was in a relatively favourable position.

Hungary strives for good relations with the Soviet Union, although serious obstacles still stand in the way of that development. Such difficulties include the Hungarian demand for compensation to the tune of 2,500 million roubles connected with the garrisoning and withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the major decline in bilateral trade, Antall said. He was of the opinion the problems could eventually be settled through negotiation.

Hungary seeks to maintain good-neighbourly relations with the East European countries. Apart from certain problems in this area, the Hungarian government is aiming at creating an open dialogue and towards the easing of tensions and the further development of relations, Antall said. The year 1991 may become a milestone in the history of Hungary. From this year, the Hungarian economy, based on stable property relations, can advance towards the world economy, and Hungarian and foreign investors will be able to launch ventures and develop the economy under stable legal conditions, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said on Wednesday. As reported earlier, the prime minister was addressing the first managers, seminar in Budapest.

The government seeks to observe three simultaneous requirements: the realisation of historical justice, the maintainance of the operational capacity of the country and the provision of realistic and stable perspectives for Hungary and her economy, Antall said. On elaborating the country's economic policy strategy, the government is giving priority to the settlement of property relations, he added. The compensation bill brought before parliament is aimed at accelerating the process of privatization and laying the foundations for stable investment by Hungarian and foreign entrepreneurs.

The prime minister emphasized that the country has to overcome its difficulties through the continuous repayment and management of its debts, this being one of the prices to be paid for a peaceful transition. Any kind of debt rescheduling may endanger the favourable processes leading towards a market economy.

The prime minister said that Hungary's participation in the political and economic formation of the Pentagonale is paving the way for integration into Europe. The promising co-operation between the three countries of the Visegrad club—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary—only promotes the more successful conclusion of their talks with the Common Market.

As reported earlier, Antall said that Hungary has sought to maintain good-neighbourly relations with her neighbouring East European countries including the Soviet Union. He added that although these relations were burdened by the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage project and the situation of the Hungarian minorities, the Hungarian government was aiming at creating an open dialogue aimed at the easing of tensions and the further development of ties, antall said.

Sees No 'Total Crisis'

LD0603203591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Statement by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at the first managers' training conference in Budapest on 6 March—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Hungary's first managers' training conference was held today. [passage omitted] The conference was attended by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who emphasized that the maintenance of the country's ability to function is more important than even the provision of historical justice. Ownership relations must be settled as soon as possible on the basis of national, public consensus. This is all the more necessary because security must be provided for foreign capital.

Regarding the handling of the country's debts, our prime minister declared that we cannot write off our debts. Jozsef Antall said the following about the present economic situation:

[Antall] To say that Hungary is a country in total crisis is simply at variance with reality; or else he who says this does not know what a crisis is and what a total crisis is. What we have in Hungary is not a comprehensive economic, social, political, and moral crisis, but, instead, serious problems that accompany the transition. There are—if you like—tensions, crisis phenomena, that extend to the spheres of ethics and questions of morality as well as to society and economy; however, we cannot speak about a universal crisis. There is great self-reproach, a very harmful form of masochism, and this is not very suitable for attracting foreign working capital; therefore, it does nothing but destroy our own inner faith and conscience. It is clear to everyone that in Hungary's economic life, in the economic structure of the country, an enormous change and transformation is needed. We cannot ignore the fact, however—and this must be said openly—that those difficulties, that economic transformation and everthing that has happened, are part and parcel of the creation of the conditions for a transition.

[Announcer] By the way, the prime minister made no secret of the fact that differences of view exist within the government about handling the economic situation. These are of an economic philosophical character, Joszef Antall said, adding that in economic matters the role of [Finance Minister] Mihaly Kupa is a determining one because, after all, it is he who leads the economic cabinet. [passage omitted]

Explains Foreign Policy Objectives

LD0703105891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Erno Kardos report on statement by Prime Minister Antall; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At the managers' conference, Jozsef Antall said that there are certain differences of view within government. Erno Kardos reports.

[Kardos] First, it is necessary to maintain the country's ability to function. For this purpose, a compensation law is necessary, because only with security of property can an influx of foreign capital to Hungary be expected. This was said by Jozsef Antall at the first managers' conference. [passage omitted]

[Antall] The country's foreign policy is a very conscious foreign policy strategy. It is determined by a conscious security policy strategy. Both the uniting Western Europe and North America, as well as the entire Atlantic community, recognize Hungary's efforts, (?so that) we should achieve in the region a political role for ourselves that is in harmony with our economic endeavors.

Concerning the Soviet-Hungarian relationship: It is in Hungary's elementary interest to have a good relationship with the Soviet Union and its member republics, but it is necessary to add that this government had to achieve either our departure from the Warsaw Pact or its disbandment.

In June 1990 we were as yet alone in this respect. The second [issue] is the question of Soviet troop withdrawal, and here we are talking about 2.5 billion rubles' compensation, a withdrawal cost in which our opinion differs from that of the Soviet Government. The third issue is the reduction of Soviet energy carriers' exports and the drop in our exports to the Soviet market owing to the partial collapse of the latter.

These listed above provide sufficient reason that these could be solved between us, not smoothly, but in the course of hard negotiations.

We also consider our neighbors. We strive to have good links with all of them, but the real problems like the Danube power station or the minority issues or other problems can obviously cause problems and tensions that make immediate solutions and brotherly hugging possible.

Our attitude is that we make our view public in an unambiguous fashion as we have with the Chinese foreign minister, and I think he stood up from the negotiating table with the feeling that we spoke frankly and clearly and that we are ready for cooperation.

In other words, Hungary's foreign policy takes, as a basic principle, the fact that Hungary must consider an evolving multicenterd world.

Government Approves Four-Year Economic Program

LD0703202191 Budapest MTI in English 1846 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—In its Thursday session, the Hungarian Government approved the four-year economic policy action programme put forward by Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa, Government Spokesman Balazs Laszlo told MTI.

The government will pass on the programme to the speaker of parliament and the parliamentary committees, Laszlo said.

Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, said that the amended version reflected that due consideration had been given to his remarks and indicated a favourable shift in emphasis on foreign economic relations.

At the government spokesman's briefing on Friday, the finance minister is expected to give a detailed talk on how the growing tensions in East European trade will affect the role of the state and the government in the future, Laszlo said.

The government discussed the foreign economic affairs action programme as well, and came to the general conclusion that this year's foreign trade conditions were worse than last year. In 1990, Hungary's balance of trade showed a 1,000-million-dollar surplus, something which won't be repeated this year. The Soviet economy is in a deeper crisis than expected. Projections for 1991's decrease in Hungarian-Soviet trade may have to be adjusted down to a figure of something more like 30-50 per cent. For this reason, the industrial firms that used to target Eastern Europe should find new markets, Laszlo said.

The government approved the one year's extension of the mandate given to Gyorgy Szapary, representative of the International Monetary Fund in Hungary.

The government decided to set up an ad hoc committee to complete the lead-up to the Budapest-Vienna world expo, and look in detail at how the project can be financed.

Future Economic Plans Discussed

LD0803133191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Excerpts] At the government session yesterday, the four-year economic program, linked with the name of [Finance Minister] Mihaly Kupa, was adopted.

The Kupa plan, which now is a government program, gives priority to an antiinflation policy. The Ministry of Social Welfare will work out the system of social security by mid-April, one of whose main elements will be the handling of unemployment. Another element will be the maintenance of pensions. No less important, indeed perhaps the most important element, is the detection and support of the poor, Mihaly Kupa said at his morning briefing.

If inflation is pushed below 15 percent and if unemployment is reined in, the economy will take an upward course. The Finance Minister expects this in 1993. He said that, compared to original expectations, external economic strategy was strengthened in the plan without having to regroup money for this. What was sought was how the existing state enterprises could be made effective under market conditions, and how, in the end, the country's intellectual capital could be released.

Minister Kupa said that inflation had been lower than expected so far this year because the price of gasoline, meat, milk in the end had been lower. This, too, shows that the breaking up of monopoly positions can be an important means of curbing prices. This pertains to medicines, too. The government was compelled to accept that an increase in reimbursement charges for medicines was unavoidable They want to protect those who are most affected, and for this reason the details are being discussed at the Interest Coordinating Council. At the same time, the pharmaceutical industry price-gap is being reexamined, and the trade monopoly will be abolished here as well.

The government also discussed the 10-year program for road development and a report on the utilization of the road fund last year. This amounts to 10.75 billion forints, while there is a backlog in development to the tune of 225 billion forints. This is roughly the requirement for the 10-year program. The building of highways could be accomplished through concessions. The annual road fund must be set at 20-22 billion [forints], which will be easily recouped, since the bad condition of the roads causes yearly damage to the tune of threefold, fourfold this amount. [passage omitted]

The government adopted a new arms trade decree. According to this, the sale, purchase or passage of military technology is permitted only if this does not violate the constitution, if it does not go against our security, our foreign political interests and our valid international agreements. Arms sales to countries in conflict and to places where the United Nations has ordered an embargo are banned. The unanimous assent of a committee is necessary for every deal. The chairman of this will be assigned by the prime minister. Its members and their deputies will be appointed by the ministers of internal affairs, defense, international economic relations and foreign affairs, as well as the minister overseeing national security. For the sake of their security, their names will not be announced, but the decree is now being made public for the first time. It also says that if there is not unanimous agreement in a deal, the national security council [nemzetbiztonsagi tanacs] will make a decision. By the way, at the government session, a decision was made on opening six new border crossings along the Hungarian-Austrian border.

Goncz Comments on Situation of Slovaks, Gypsies

LD0703153191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Eva Cseh report on President Goncz's visit to Bekescsaba on 6 March]

[Excerpts] [Cseh] Much depends on the Slovaks in Hungary, for them to be able to speak their mother tongue as well as they do Hungarian, President Arpad Goncz said in Bekescsaba; he met the town's tradesmen in the banquet room of the town hall on Wednesday evening. In this Slovak center in Hungary, the president said that because this nationality lives like an island in a Hungarian sea, it needs the most basic conditions, such as mother-tongue kindergarten teachers and books. He would be pleased if the House of Slovak Culture were located in Bekescsaba, because this is where most of this nationality lives. [passage omitted]

In reply to a question, Arpad Goncz also gave his opinion regarding gypsies. He is of the view that the gypsy question is the most serious ethnic question in Hungary. The gypsies have been afflicted by the greatest injustice in the past in our country, the president said. [passage omitted]

Nuclear Defense Official on Avoiding Accidents

AU0703132291 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Mar 91 p 6

[Interview with Army Colonel Janos Hermann, head of the Chemical Defense Department of the Army, by "P.Gy."; place and date not given: "His Task Is To Survive a Nuclear Catastrophe"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] Janos Hermann's credentials are not very simple: He is the head of the Chemical Defense Department of the Hungarian Army and head of the operative staff of the Government Commission in Charge of Preventing Nuclear Accidents; however, it is still easier to understand these titles than to understand the structure of the aforementioned government commission. All this in spite of Janos Hermann's willingness to explain this structure. From a civilian's viewpoint, the essence of all this can be summed up in one sentence: In the event of a nuclear catastrophe, Janos Hermann has full authority and all information comes to him and he has to coordinate the activity of all the ministries involved, from the environmental protection through the industry and interior ministries. Janos Hermann knows where these ministers can be found at any moment, even in "peacetime" conditions.

[Hermann] The nuclear accident prevention system has been in force in Hungary since January of this year.

Previously, the Hungarian nuclear accident prevention was practically limited to supervising the nuclear power plant in Paks but, over the course of time, it became increasingly clear that this was not enough and did not provide real protection against nuclear catastrophes. Chernobyl made us realize this.... Besides, the real danger is coming not so much from the nuclear power plant in Paks, but much more from the nuclear power plants in the CSFR because, as a result of the constant north-westerly winds, Hungary would be most affected by a nuclear catastrophe in the CSFR.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] This means that, in your view, every country is facing the consequences of nuclear power station catastrophes because a mistake can also be made by a neighbor.... Is there any safety at all?

[Hermann] Of course. The very existence of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] is a guarantee. This organization constantly supervises the nuclear power stations of the member countries and, given the very high standard of its control, any catastrophe is unimaginable. [passage omitted]

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] The storage of used nuclear fuel elements stirred up great emotions in Hungary recently. In the area being considered, Ofalu, the population and environmentalists protested loudly....

[Hermann] Yes, and there is no decision yet on the location of this storage facility. The used fuel bars are presently taken to the area of Puspokszilagy near Vac.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] What is your opinion about this?

[Hermann] Finding a proper location requires very thorough seismologic and geological tests. If the results are positive, however, there is no reason for worry. The panic surrounding this whole issue of spent nuclear fuel elements is a clear sign of total ignorance. The population is not aware of the reality. Naturally, this is not their fault, because the previous regime simply did not find it necessary to inform the people. We have a lot to compensate in this area.

[MAGYAR HIRLAP] In other words, there is no reason for any panic in matters of nuclear power stations because the IAEA is a guarantee against a catastrophe....

[Hermann] We should not rely merely on the IAEA officials. We are conducting basic supervision and catastrophe prevention ourselves in the framework of the national system of nuclear accident prevention. This system practically covers the entire country and every area has its own responsible person, and there is constant contact between all the factors. [passage omitted]

FIDESZ Representative on Foreign Policy

AU0803131391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Mar 91 p 3

[Interview with Istvan Hegedus, deputy chairman of the National Assembly's foreign policy committee, by Tibor Kis in Prague; date not given: "Can There Be a Consensus in Hungarian Foreign Policy?"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] A high-level Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] delegation held talks in Bratislava and Prague between Wednesday and Friday [27 February and 1 March]. The delegation met with leaders of the Czech National Council, the successors of the Civic Forum, and representatives of the Social Democratic Party. Our reporter in Prague interviewed Istvan Hegedus following his round-table negotiations in the House of Hungarian Culture.

[Kis] Lately, government party circles have started saying that people who go abroad and criticize the coalition's work actually jeopardize Hungary's interests. You, however, clearly informed people at this meeting about the flaws you detected in the Hungarian Government's work, including its foreign policy.

[Hegedus] It would be flippant to suppose that criticisms voiced at home will stay at home. Foreign governments know perfectly well what we think of certain Hungarian foreign policy measures. The logical conclusion of your statement would be that Hungary's foreign policy should not be criticized at all. That is out of the question. At the same time, it would be preferable if Hungary's foreign policy developed certain strategic elements that the country's parliamentary parties could agree on, at least in principle.

[Kis] Where do we need a consensus?

[Hegedus] It would probably be easiest to obtain a consensus concerning the road that leads to Europe, because relatively little criticism can be raised on that subject. The second area would be security and military policy. As far as the Warsaw Pact was concerned, for example, I think it would have been very important for the parliamentary parties to express their views on the disbanding of the military organization—and on the general dismantling of the Pact—during the National Assembly's plenary session. All the more so because in its statement, the Hungarian National Assembly obliged the government to initiate negotiations concerning Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, yet the government made no mention whatsoever of this at the plenary session. The third large area would be problems concerning our neighboring countries. This is where you find the greatest differences in opinion. We should try to clarify our basic principles in this area, and analyze what Hungary's foreign policy will try to achieve during the next 10 years, what we could do to resolve tensions and nationalist responses.

[Kis] As far as this latter area is concerned, there seem to be divergences on the handling of the national minority issue. The government seems to be putting greater emphasis on this issue than the opposition.

[Hegedus] We also believe that the national minority issue is very important, but we do not think that this is the only approach through which we can observe and analyze the developments that are taking place in our

neighboring countries. This is a very important issue, but we should be empathetic about developments in our neighboring countries; we cannot be too insensitive and talk exclusively about this problem. Moreover, we tend to have symbolic and historical concepts that irritate our negotiating partners.

[Kis] Now and then, Hungary's political parties seem to find a mirror image in Hungarian national minority organizations abroad. Do you see this as politically dangerous?

[Hegedus] I think that there are some inherent dangers in these mirror images. I also believe that if the Alliance of Free Democrats, the FIDESZ, or the Hungarian Democratic Forum solely politicize according to their party line, they would become narrow minded. Under such circumstances, neither party can be sufficiently detached in its handling of these problems, particularly if it only listens to one of the national minority organizations abroad.

[Kis] In Czechoslovakia, the public was constantly kept informed about allied aircrafts using the country's airspace. The Hungarian population, however, was not informed about overhead flights until the very last minute. Which solution was preferable, in your opinion?

[Hegedus] According to Hungary's laws and Constitution, parliamentary authorization is needed to decide on such matters. That is not the case in Czechoslovakia. In fact, the whole issue was not that significant, but in Hungary, the relevant constitutional paragraphs had to be applied to the aforementioned case. Whether it was correct to ask the National Assembly to decide during a closed session, and whether it was right to keep one of these legislative decisions from the public is another matter. I think that it was a mistake. Furthermore, now that we have closed this subject, the National Assembly has published the decision, but it has refused to publish the protocol, which I think is being overly cautious. The decision to proceed in this way was also made public without any previous debate or explanation. There was no significant foreign policy statement that would have assessed the Gulf situation or Hungary's involvement, a statement that would have explained why we made a secret decision. In other words, once again, the National Assembly was unable to reach a decision in a suitable way.

Official Views 'Tensions' in Trade With USSR

LD0703185591 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—Lajos Berenyi, Hungarian deputy state secretary of international economic relations, has held talks in Moscow on tensions in bilateral trade.

Returning to Hungary, Berenyi said that his negotiating partners had promised to provide financial resources for the trade in products featuring on the so-called indicative list, as agreed at government level last year. However, there is no counting on a major improvement in the Soviet cashflow problem, Berenyi said. He added that Hungarian companies should only embark on exports to the Soviet Union against a backdrop of payment guarantees.

So far this year, the Soviet oil, natural gas and electricity deliveries have been uninterrupted. Given a joint agreement on the delivery of another 1 million tonnes of oil to Hungary, a total of 3 million tonnes of Soviet oil will arrive this year.

On December 31, 1990, the Soviet Union owed 1,600 million roubles to Hungary, while Hungary's debts amounted to 300 million roubles. The difference was converted into dollars, accordingly, the Soviet Union currently owes 1,100-1,200 million dollars to Hungary. The payments schedule and interest charges will be matters for further consultation. The soviet side would like to pay with goods deliveries.

The Soviet side did not object to the idea of reducing the flow of foreign exchange in deals between Hungarian and Soviet companies but rejected the proposal for regulating the introduction of clearing at inter-state level.

Berenyi expressed the hope that the payments difficulties hindering Hungarian-Soviet trade would disappear in the long run. Soviet companies have so far opened 40 million dollars worth of letters of credit on behalf of Hungarian commercial banks.

Army Official on Damage Caused by Soviet Troops

AU0703144791 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 4 Mar 91 p 5

[Interview with Major General Imre Karacsony, deputy government commissioner in charge of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, by Frigyes Varju; place and date not given: "What Remains After the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops?—Environmental Pollution in the Area of Papa, Kalocsa, and Baja"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Excerpts] As we already informed the readers, the fuel leaking from the former Soviet military airfield in Sarmellek polluted the lands and several water wells of this village. We asked Imre Karacsony about this. Imre Karacsony is aware of the financial and environmental factors of the troop withdrawal because, as the declared head of the Hungarian negotiating delegation, he participates in the often-tense coordinating meetings almost daily.

[Varju] How serious is the environmental damage in Sarmellek?

[Karacsony] What we can see there is simply shocking. We conducted the tests on the basis of Hungarian and Soviet methods and came to the conclusion that the oil pollution is extremely serious in this area. We do not even dare evaluate the real extent of the damage. The fact that Sarmellek lies between the former Soviet Army base and the Small Balaton Lake is particularly alarming because we do not know whether this pollution has also seeped into the water. On the basis of our conclusions from the area, we think that great damage has been caused there.

[Varju] What was the first Soviet reaction to all this?

[Karacsony] They themselves were shocked, because Soviet experts were also there and had the opportunity to see the facts. You also saw the video recording we made there when we set fire to the water we took from the water wells. These wells are full of chemicals. So far, we have discovered pollution in 15 wells, but we do not know how this pollution will spread. [passage omitted]

[Varju] How would you characterize the environmental damage caused by the Soviets on the basis of your experience so far?

[Karacsony] I am convinced that there is considerable pollution in forests, pastures, and military exercise fields! The damage in the Papa area, for example, amounts to 75 million forints; the damage in Kalocsa amounts to 100 million forints; and the damange in Baja amounts to 63 million forints. Naturally, there is a debate over these values.

[Varju] Are there similar differences of views in the other troop withdrawal areas?

[Karacsony] Of course. Generally, we are arguing about everything. We must understand that it is impossible to smoothly solve problems that have been swept under the carpet for decades. [passage omitted]

[Varju] As far as I know, negotiations are under way about 6,000 buildings, but most of these buildings can only be used for military purposes. How will we pay for them if they are unsuitable for civilian use?

[Karacsony] The Hungarian side regards Article 8 of the Hungarian-Soviet agreement of April 1958 as the starting point in the course of negotiations. This article stipulates that we will only pay for the projects built by the Soviets by taking into consideration the amortization and applicability. The Hungarian Armed Forces have a minimal demand for additional airfields, barracks, and firing ranges because they already have all these. In other words, 90-95 percent of the buildings to be returned by the departing Soviet troops will be sold for civilian purposes anyway and at market prices. [passage omitted]

PRC Foreign Minister Continues Visit

Trade Relations Discussed

LD0703201991 Budapest MTI in English 1300 GMT 7 Mar 91

Budapest, March 7, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The three-day visit Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Qian Qichen paid to Hungary ended on Wednesday evening.

In addition to political contacts between the two countries, topics at the discussions Mr Qian had here included economic cooperation .

An official at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry told ECONEWS today the parties had agreed that the Chinese minister of foreign trade will pay an official visit to Budapest in May during the time Budapest international spring fair is on.

Both foreign ministers pointed out the importance of boosting two-way trade, which fell to a tenth of the 1985 figure (577 million clearing Swiss francs) last year.

They confirmed that both parties had agreed that the Hungarian- Chinese intergovernmental committee in charge of economic, trade, technical and scientific cooperation should be retained.

The committee will hold its next meeting in Beijing.

Although there is a difference in the way the two partners calculate the surplus Hungary has run up in two-way clearing trade over the past few years, both sides agreed that China will have to pay off its debts to Hungary this year.

Hungarian calculations put Hungary's surplus at 106 million clearing Swiss francs. Hungarian companies have already concluded contracts for half this amount.

Chinese figures put the Hungarian surplus at 70 million Swiss francs, because they do not consider debts the provinces owe Hungary as belonging to the central debt.

Hungary and China changed over to convertible accounting at the beginning of 1991.

The negotiating parties stressed the necessity of concluding an agreement on the avoidance of double taxation and one on investment protection as early as possible, since not a single Hungarian-Chinese JV [joint venture] has been set up as yet.

A Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations official said he believed cooperation was possible mainly in agricultural machine and vehicle manufacture.

Queried on Relations, Reforms

LD0803142991 Budapest Domestic Service in English 1318 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Report on interview with PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen by unidentified reporter; in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—China is a great power, whose steps are determined by its internal conditions. China's stability is a global concern, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said in an interview given to NEPSZABADSAG, at the end of his visit to Hungary.

The differences between the political systems and ideological orientations cannot hamper good relations between Hungary and China, Qian Qichen said. China would like to maintain and develop its relations with Hungary on the basis of peaceful coexistence, noninterference with one another's internal affairs, equality, and mutual interest.

According to the Chinese minister, the setback in economic relations is of a temporary nature and an obvious consequence of the switchover to dollar trade. China attributes the utmost importance to the development, and is optimistic about the future of bilateral economic cooperation, he said. The minister saw great prospects in direct intercompany links, and technical, scientific, cultural and other kinds of co-operation.

Concerning the Gulf war, Qian Qichen said China had opposed the armed aggression against Kuwait from the very beginning and supported all the UN resolutions demanding the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait. Nevertheless, China firmly insisted on settling the crisis through peaceful political and diplomatic ways and opposed the war. Now that hostilities have ceased, China holds that genuine peace can only be established through political means.

In reply to the question how the policy of opening can be squared with the reemergence of old slogans in China, Qian Qichen said that although the policy of reforms and opening supported by the people would not change, the concrete steps would be determined by the specific conditions in China. The implementation of reforms requires social stability. The stability of this country with 1,100 million inhabitants is a global concern, the Chinese foreign minister said.

Concludes Official Visit

LD0603211191 Budapest MTI in English 2008 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Concluding his official visit to Hungary, Qian Qichen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, left Budapest on Wednesday evening.

On Wednesday, the closing day of his visit, Qian Qichen saw the sights of the Danube bend.

Jeszenszky Departs for Visit to Bulgaria

LD0603185291 Budapest MTI in English 1745 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky left for Bulgaria on Wednesday evening [6 March].

Jeszenszky is responding to an invitation from Viktor Vulkov, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Cancels Visit to Romania

LD0803082291 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister has called off his earlier announced visit to Bucharest. PESTI HIRLAP learned this from a spokesman of the Democratic Associations of Hungarians in Romania. In reply to a question from the newspaper, the Bucharest Foreign Ministry confirmed that Geza Jeszenszky, citing his busy schedule has, indeed, called off his visit to Romania planned for 18 March. The two foreign ministries have not discussed a new date for the time being.

State Secretary Szokai's Talks in CSFR Viewed

LD0703225691 Budapest MTI in English 2112 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Prague, March 7 (MTI)—Imre Szokai, Hungarian deputy state secretary of foreign affairs, held talks in Prague on Wednesday and Thursday and then left for Bratislava. Meeting Zdenek Matejka, Czechoslovak deputy foreign minister, Szokai handed over the letter to Marian Calfa, federal prime minister, from Hungarian Prime Minister, Joseph Antall. Szokai met representatives of the Czech Government, too.

The talks between Szokai and Matejka focussed on the work of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian intergovernmental council. Composed of deputy foreign ministers and deputy state secretaries, the council will have to coordinate the work of bilateral working parties and joint committees.

In his letter, Antall informed Calfa that Ferenc Madl had been appointed to government commissioner of the Gabcikovo hydro-electric dam. Madl will contact the Czechoslovak Government commissioner, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and propose a date for their first meeting.

Antall's letter emphasised that the Hungarian side held it conceivable that the issue of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project could be settled through compromise, Szokai told Hungarian journalists in Prague.

Preparing for the forthcoming visit to Budapest of Marian Calfa, my talks with Zdenek Matejka surveyed the whole range of Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations, Szokai said.

On Thursday evening, Szokai met Slovak PRime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

The Hungarian deputy state secretary told MTI that the talks had been successful.

Reportage on Lajos Fur Visit to United Kingdom

WA0803160391

For reportage on the visit by Minister of Defense Lajos Fur to the United Kingdom, including reports on his talks with top officials, please see the United Kingdom section of the 8 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Bielecki: Soviet Transit Will Not Be Blocked

LD0703152391 Hamburg DPA in German 1456 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki reaffirmed today that Poland does not intend to block the transit of Soviet troops from Germany. The officials he met with in Bonn also see it this way, he told journalists in Warsaw. Poland is flexible and also expects flexibility from the Soviet side.

In reply to questions from DPA, Polish Foreign Ministry Spokesman Wladyslaw Klaczynski gave the assurance that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland will take place "before the peak of the transit from Germany." The agreements on the transit and withdrawal being sought with the Soviet Union are two different agreements. In this respect, there is no formal package. "However, in the interests of the matter, they should be concluded at the same time."

Poland has never intended blocking the transit. Because the size of the transit requires a contractual settlement, Poland prepared a draft treaty last year. The negotiations will continue in Moscow in the middle of the month. [passage omitted]

Walesa Holds Talks With EC's Andriessen

LD0703214891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1500 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Poland's association in the the EEC was one of the most important subjects raised during talks in Warsaw with Frans Andriessen, deputy chairman of the European Community Commission. We need support for Poland's return to Europe, both in political and economic solutions, President Lech Walesa said while greeting the guest. It is going to be a little difficult for us, he added, as the former system lasted too long. As Poland is opening its markets to EEC goods, it expects reciprocation. We are worried that the agreement on association could lead to a collapse in Poland of such industrial branches as the food, textile, and metallurgical sectors. It is a question of these sectors having the opportunity to develop by exporting goods to EEC markets. It is also connected with anticipated financial help for Poland, which would be allocated to restructuring the economy.

EC Association To Be Delayed

LD0703232991 Warsaw PAP in English 2251 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—It seems that an agreement on Poland's association with the EC will not be signed in June as planned before but it may be initialled at that time, EC External Relations Commissioner Frans Andriessen, on a one-day visit to Poland, said at a press conference here today.

Procedural matters—the signing of the agreement and its ratification by parliaments of the twelve states—may prolong and Poland will not become a country associated with the EC as of January 1, 1992. However, what is more important from the point of view of propaganda is to sign the agreement satisfactory to both sides still this year, which will show the world that Poland and the EC are moving in the same direction, he stated.

Andriessen told newsmen that the most difficult problem of negotiations concerned a free access to EC markets for Polish food, agricultural, textile and metallurgical products.

While in Warsaw he was received by Polish President Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Vice-Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

WEU Delegation Arrives on First Official Visit

LD0703233491 Warsaw PAP in English 2249 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—A delegation of the Western European Union [WEU] headed by its Secretary General Willem van Eekelen came on their first official visit to Poland aimed at learning opinions of the Polish Government on the security system in Europe, the conventional armaments reduction and the course of Vienna negotiations on the issue.

After Eekelen's talks with Polish Defence Minister Vice-Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk the latter said that the Union seeks mechanisms and instruments which would allow to include promptly the former Warsaw Pact countries in the process of building the European security system. The sides also stated that another approach to Vienna disarmament negotiations is necessary when one of the European military blocs has practically been dissolved.

In the evening Willem van Eekelen was received by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski who later on opined that as Poland is interested in cooperation with both NATO and EC, regular contacts with the Union are indispensable.

Bielecki Meets U.S. Treasury Under Secretary

LD0703184691 Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki today received Deputy Treasury Secretary of the U.S. David Mulford, now on a visit to Poland.

Referring to the reduction of the Polish debt, the prime minister said that Poland tried to negotiate such a size of reduction that would be acceptable from the point of view of the Polish financial system and to make it happen as swiftly as possible. The prime minister said this during a press conference at the headquarters of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

After meeting the prime minister, Mulford continued talks on the reduction of the Polish debt with Vice-Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz.

Debt Reduction Discussions Continue

LD0703024291 Warsaw PAP in English 2304 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 6—Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz met here today with U.S. Under-Secretary of the Treasury David Mulford who arrived in Warsaw today for a two-day visit to discuss the reduction of Poland's debt.

After the talks, Balcerowicz said that the meeting was a vital step bringing nearer the final solution of the problem of the reduction of Poland's debt.

"We discused the reduction of the debt burden, that is the debt, together with interests, and ways and possible scope of such reduction," said Balcerowicz.

David Mulford said that the U.S. Government has a positive approach towards the idea of the reduction of the Polish debt. Poland should have conditions for economic growth, growth of production and the increase of national income and the reduction of the debt may be helpful in this field.

Sejm Discusses Election Law, End of Term

LD0703161891 Warsaw PAP in English 1238 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—The lower chamber of Polish Parliament today convened for the crucial debate on ending its term of office and elaborating new election law. The Sejm heard reports on the Sejm committee drafts of new election law and constitutional amendments alongside respective draft laws submitted by President Lech Walesa.

Sejm Speaker Kozakiewicz said he appointed Bogdan Lysak, one of the two to-date vice-presidents of the Supreme Board of Control NIK, acting NIK president, which ends the bitter controversy over the post. Kozakiewicz added that Sejm presidium is shortly going to come up with proposals on the procedure in submitting candidates for the position.

The Sejm today received a letter from Lech Walesa, in which the president provided substantiation of his two bills, saying the course of work on the election law within the Sejm constitutional committee threatened the date of elections and the future shape of political life in Poland. He urged doing away with what he termed as the obsolete "roundtable" contract, which today "demoralizes public life". The president also called on the Sejm to take decisions as would make elections possible on May 26.

Walesa said his draft election law favours creation of big parties and election coalition and added that the election rules he has submitted are based on simple principles as they rely on adminstrative division of this country.

Meanwhile, a deputy presenting the Sejm committee draft election law said the committee draft is "a compromise between various options supported by the political forces which had worked on it."

The presidential draft on constitutional amendments is aimed to uphold the present Senate after the Sejm has taken decisions to dissolve itself, Slawomir Siwek of the Presidential Chancellery said while presenting substantiation of the presidential drafts at the Sejm today.

Siwek Presents Draft Election Law

LD0703230191 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Secretary of State in the President's Chancellery Slawomir Siwek presented to the Sejm today draft election law and amendments to the constitution proposed by the president.

The draft election law proposes a majority-proportional system which envisages that 230 candidates would be elected by a majority of votes in single-seat constituencies, out of an unlimited number of candidates. The remaining 230 seats would be spread among the national lists of candidates proportional to the number of votes cast on the individual lists throughout Poland. In effect, every elector would have two votes: one to elect a deputy in a given constituency, and the other to be cast on the chosen national list of candidates, Siwek told the deputies.

The draft proposes to give the right to nominate candidates to political parties, social organizations and electors. This right would be realized through the election committees. To be nominated, every candidate must collect three thousand signatures, whereas every national list of candidates must win the signatures of 30 thousand electors.

The draft envisages that the elections would be held on Poland's territory only, and the right to be elected would be reserved for Polish citizens exclusively.

While explaining the reasons for the proposed amendments to the constitution, Siwek stressed that they were to enable the Senate to function in the situation when the Sejm adopts a resolution on self-dissolution. The Senate elected in the free general elections should not be dissolved under a law adopted by the Sejm, which was elected on the basis of a political contract. The Senate's future position would be determined by a new consitution adopted by a new, democratically elected Sejm, Siwek said.

Walesa Meets With Envoy, Peasant Party Leaders

LD0703232391 Warsaw PAP in English 2252 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Polish President Lech Walesa received here today Polish Ambassador to Hungary Maciej Kozminski to discuss effects of the summit meeting in Visegrad on February 15 and of the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Budapest on February 25.

The president assessed in positive terms the first steps towards implementation of the Visegrad declaration, such as the formation of a Council of Ambassadors and other institutional forms of cooperation, and underlined that the reconstruction of economic relations among

post-communist countries is necessary in order to fill the gap that has appeared after the disintegration of CMEA.

President Walesa handed Ambassador Kozminski a letter addressed to Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall.

Also today Lech Walesa received leaders of the Polish Peasant Party PSL "Solidarity" who briefed the president on their stand on the major problems in agriculture, such as access to credits, introduction of prohibitive tariffs to limit food imports, operation of farming cooperatives and privatization of industries related to agriculture.

The president supported the initiatives of the party concerning crediting and creating a modern farming sector in Poland, while the peasant leaders backed the presidential draft laws on parliamentary elections.

The president also met today with American students at Polish universities. He told them that while implementing novel solutions Poland wants to use the best experiences of other countries, American ones in the first place.

This morning Lech Walesa held as well a private meeting with American businessman of the Polish origin Edward Piszek.

Among the presidential guests today there were also women soldiers, members of the medical corps operating since 1989. Lech Walesa wished the women that their work be conducive to changing the image of the Polish Army.

Bielecki on Discussions With OPZZ on Wage Tax

LD0703222691 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] [Announcer] Representatives of the government and the OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] trade unionists held talks today that lasted more than three hours. During the talks, Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki presented his view on the basis for the excessive wage tax increases:

[Begin Bielecki recording] Briefly, we have reached the following conclusion: Long, drawn-out discussions with trade union federations are leading ultimately to a situation that is quite dangerous. Since, according to our policies, the most important people are those who earn least, or for whom the financial conditions, the so-called tax threshold, create the worst possible earnings position, we wanted—and this was the subject of dozens of hours of negotations—to set the base at a level that would be acceptable to us, bearing in mind the endurance level of the financial system.

We could not reach agreement in this matter. There were differing points of view. At the moment, the OPZZ has introduced a proposal that is already quite close to our own proposal. Since we believe that people cannot wait any longer, since this regulation will be in force from 1 January 1991, we have made a decision—unilaterally—that would regulate this minimal base at the level of 950,000 zlotys, and I think this is a significant piece of information, especially for light industry, and also for communal enterprises. We wish to help when it is possible for us to do so, when this fundamental service, which is the economic stablization, the fight against inflation, is not being disturbed. [end recording]

[Announcer] The government spokesman has said that this stand was also presented by the prime minister to the Solidarity leadership.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] This is not the first time we have become aware of how difficult it is to undo that which had not been properly settled in the Sejm. We are now speaking for the third time with the government about the tax on above-the-norm wage settlements. Of course 950,000 zlotys—thereby raising this threshold by 150,000 zlotys—will not satisfy all the wage earners, but it is something. We shall continue to hold these talks.

We did not, however, reach agreement on the level of the threshold according to our proposals—that was more than 1 million zlotys. [end recording]

Bielecki on Relations Between Government, Press

LD0703203691 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by Prime Minister Bielecki with unidentified reporters; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Representatives of the regional press from the whole country met Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. The issues of particular interest to the local press are: budgetary balance as an element in the program to stabilize the economy, instruments of fiscal policy, including the popiwek [tax on excessive pay increases], and the progress and economic and social consequences of privatization. Apart from the role of giving information, which the press fulfills, there is also a need to improve its editorial and early-warning activities. This is connected with the explosive situation in certain spheres of the economy; for example, agriculture, mining and communications.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, you said that the press should be free and independent. How, therefore, do you envisage cooperation between such a press and the government?

[Bielecki] I also said that we want to be understood by this press, and if it is free and independent, we must adapt to it; we must strive for understanding within the local press. We want to meet with the press, we want to explain ourselves, we want to present our arguments, and I hope, thanks to this, that we will achieve better social communication. That is probably how things should develop in the future.

Kaczynski on Participation in Government, Walesa

AU0703144291 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 5 Mar 91 pp 10, 11

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, chairman of the Center Accord and Presidential Chancellery, by Anna Bikont; place and date not given: "Playing on the Center Accord Team"]

[Excerpts] [Bikont] You said you have no ambition of joining the presidential or governmental authorities and that you want to concentrate on forming a strong party. You did not want to become prime minister, but you did agree to become chief of the Presidential Chancellery. Were you afraid you might lose your former influence?

[Kaczynski] If I had refused the post of chairman of the Presidential Chancellery, people might have thought that the Center Accord was being outlawed, with no participation in the government and no representation in the presidential authorities. [passage omitted]

[Bikont] The Center Accord has issued the following statement: "Unless systemic and personnel changes are made, the Center Accord will not feel jointly responsible for the structure of authority and will be compelled to withdraw its people from the executive authorities." What made the Center Accord issue such a rebellious statement?

[Kaczynski] We issued it before Bielecki became prime minister. We do not like some of the things he has done. He has staged an assault on the central administration and has fired a lot of people in the Office of the Council of Ministers left over from the old regime. We thought the liberals would never tamper with the postcommunist order, but they have. We cannot tolerate that. Today we have greater confidence, and wishing bad things upon this government would be the same as wishing bad things upon Poland.

[Bikont] What is the structure of the victorious presidential camp? Who has won, and who has been moved to the rear?

[Kaczynski] Walesa has won. He wants to be the president of all Poles and is making conciliatory gestures to the losing side, but his gestures are being rejected.

The camp that supported Walesa was very fragmented, consisting of the Center Accord, the citizens committees, a part of Solidarity, the Christian National Union, and dozens of minor groups like the White Eagle Association. The liberals were also represented. [passage omitted]

[Bikont] Will you enter into a coalition with Solidarity, or are you going to compete against it for voters?

[Kaczynski] We will not treat Solidarity as an adversary unless it shifts to the position occupied by the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD], which I do not think it will do. I think all kinds of local solutions are possible. I would prefer complete political clarity, but that is out of the question before the election.

[Bikont] People with political aspirations but no political success have joined the Center Accord.

[Kaczynski] That is what ROAD thinks, which you belong to. The Center Accord is there to create a political elite, and a few people do make a name for themselves, although only very few people are really well known.

We do not know if a change of political elites will occur quickly in Poland. People describe political elites as "ossified" even after two years in power, yet French and Italian politicians have careers spanning entire decades. Mitterrand has been a minister for 45 years. Perhaps history will erase all of us, on the government side and opposition side, quite quickly.

SdRP Condemns Attacks on Left Wing

AU0703164791 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 5 Mar 91 p 1

[Statement by the Social Democracy Party of the Republic of Poland (SdRP) Central Executive Committee; place and date not given: "Imagined Threats From the Right"]

[Text] Together with growing criticism of government economic policy, an increase in social dissatisfaction, a collapse of confidence in political institutions, and disappointment with the present ruling camp, there are demagogical calls for a radical settlement of scores with the left wing. This is meant to divert society's attention from real, not imagined, threats.

This way of thinking is reflected in the resolution adopted by the congress of the Center Accord, which calls for the rejection of democratic rules of political life and obligates that party's authorities to work out draft laws that would discriminate against members of the former Polish United Workers Party.

The Social Democracy Party of the Republic of Poland [SdRP] says: We are in favor of calling to responsibility all those guilty of violating the law, but we are firmly opposed to the demolition of everything that the Poles have built since 1945. We are opposed to the falsification of history, tampering with the biographies of honest people, collective responsibility, and the division of citizens into unequal categories.

Intolerance and a disrespect for people who think differently means a departure from democracy. The SdRP and its parliamentary representation in the future Sejm will oppose this.

Center Accord Congress Proceedings Reported

AU0703152491 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 2 Mar 91

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—In his programmatic address delivered at the first congress of the Centre Alliance here today, leader of the grouping Jaroslaw Kaczynski said the

alliance referred to the current political practice of Christian-Democratic parties of the West, and particularly of the German CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. "What Poland needs is a strong Christian Democratic party," he said.

Said general secretary of the alliance Przemyslaw Kniedziewicz: "The alliance, affiliating several thousand people, began to think about transforming this unofficial agreement of Christian-Democrat groupings of centre, liberal and peasant character with roots in Solidarity, into a uniform political party."

The preamble to the party's statute, adopted by the congress today, said that the Centre Alliance is a Christian-Democratic party containing two equal and mutually complementary currents: liberal-democratic and peasant. The alliance makes efforts to continue and improve the great cause of Solidarity and citizens' committees towards the establishing of a modern political system based on the free development of competing political parties.

"Regarding economic issues, the alliance supports a concept of privatization that includes sales of shares to employees of individual work establishments, and open sales of shares to all citizens and reprivatization," Kaczynski said.

"In connection with the need to establish a new system of security in Central Europe, which cannot be done without NATO, we must attach particular importance to our relations with the U.S.," Kaczynski continued. "The removing of the Soviet troops from Poland is for us a matter of security and honour. We await the signing of a treaty with Germany in the conviction that it would constitute a decisive step breaking the fatal tradition of the past 250 years," Kaczynski stated.

Kaczynski announced that the alliance was ready to help form an electoral coalition with Solidarity, citizens' committees and the peasants' movement.

The congress is attended by 424 delegates of Polish provinces, parties that are the alliance's members, deputies and senators, and founding members of the Centre Alliance.

Representatives of Christian-Democratic and centre parties of Western Eurrope and officials of international organizations, with a delegation of the Lithuanian parliament being among them, are guests of the congress.

Taking the floor, foreign speakers expressed hope that the Centre Alliance would become a strong party of Christian Democrats.

Commentary Says Army Must Become Apolitical

AU0703151491 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 4 Mar 91 p 1

['PZ'-signed commentary: "An Army Above Politics"]

[Text] We are still a long way away from achieving political stability. A state system that is governed according to the rule of law and the rules of a liberal economic system is still only in its infancy and, as months pass by, we are seeing just how complex this process of contradictions, difficult decisions, and competing interests really is.

The period of transition from one system to another (there is no social consensus about our ultimate destination and the best route) is making it crystal clear that we are now living in a country that has unstable organizations and weak economic structures, inadequate social discipline, and a fragmented political landscape that bewilders the ordinary citizen. We have also seen that there are no clear-cut divisions of authority between our constitutional bodies of central authority and other representative bodies. Additionally, awareness of the law appears to be superficial.

Foreign observers of Poland's struggle to establish a modern state and economic system, while praising our undoubted successes and courage, have warned that they (Jeffrey Sachs) consider the situation as "very grave and on the brink of instability."

The parliamentary election campaign is approaching. The election campaign is necessary to secure a truly democratic system, but it will also awake and exacerbate political passions. During the last presidential election campaign we were able to see how easily such a campaign can arouse conflicts and what sort of demons are unleashed from society's subconsciousness. We are in for a hot political season.

In these over-politicized times we are living in, with all the tensions of a transitional period, our Army is trying hard to become apolitical. It is doing so with growing success, despite the fact that there is no shortage of people who say that this is a delusion or a slogan that is used for propaganda purposes. To answer these people, we would like to reiterate (without trying to be too simplistic) the principles that are at the base of this drive to become apolitical.

Under no circumstances can this imply that people in uniform will remain indifferent to what is happening in Poland, nor can it imply that they will remain politically passive as citizens. It simply means that the Army as a state organization cannot participate in the ongoing political contest. This means that the Armed Forces must remain neutral vis-a-vis individual parties, interest groups, and centers of authority. The Army must not be regarded as a representative, supporter, or even tool of any political party, as was the case until very recently.

One can say, however, that the Army is gradually achieving the status of a nationwide organization that keeps itself aloof from politics, but which, nonetheless, is a disciplined body that serves the interests of the state and the nation. This is the kind of picture of the Armed Forces that society is beginning to see. Judging from public opinion findings, individual reaction to Army service is a totally different thing, and this is the picture that is largely responsible for the growth of public confidence in its Armed Forces.

One element responsible for this growth of confidence is undoubtedly the fact that society is increasingly seeing the Army as a promoter of democratic change in Poland and as an organization that has not shown any instability, retaining its ability to fulfill its functions despite much friction, and that generates a feeling of sincerity by loyally serving the nation.

The apolitical or above-party ambition of the Armed Forces is already beginning to pay dividends by its increasing role as a stabilizing factor within the state. This is essential during a transitional imbalance. Young citizens can now serve in the Armed Forces and feel that those who command them do not represent specific narrow interests, but are themselves functionaries of a Polish state that is common to all people and who represent this state's interests.

This is a very important fact that must be brought home to all those people who are still skeptical of the speed and the extent of change that the Ministry of National Defense is undergoing.

Recession Hits Privatized Companies

AU0803142491 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 5 Mar 91 p 1

['DEK'-signed commentary: "Privatization in Poland—A Lesson in Survival"]

[Text] Five enterprises were proudly presented to the public as the first to be privatized into corporations last fall. Since then, they, like many other enterprises, have been feeling the biting wind of recession for which they were not adequately prepared.

Krosno S.A. no longer has to worry about the punitive tax on excess wages. The company still had to make a January tax payment, although it had clearly not been expecting it. In January, the company substantially increased the salaries it paid its workers (by an average of 60 percent), and the average salary is now approximatly 1.5 million zloty's [Z]. Some posts command almost Z3 million. Approximately 480 employees—mainly part-time workers and those eligible for early retirement—have been made redundant since the company became privatized. This was the painful side of the privatization process.

Later, things began to get worse. People from the industrial glass department (mainly women) are threatened with redundancy, and in April they will face the choice of either taking rest leave or accepting remuneration that is barely higher than unemployment welfare payments. Compulsory leave or redundancy is the result of shrinking manufacturing output. Production cannot be sold on the market. The Polish economy is in recession. The harsh monetary policy of the state to contain inflation (without much success) is also putting a brake on consumer demand. Only very high-quality or very cheap goods are selling. Compared to December 1990, the prices of raw materials have increased by 40 percent. Prices are reaching world market levels. Any attempt to lower prices (the company must, however, earn enough to meet dearer credit, higher wages, and the increasing costs of production) would mean unprofitable production.

Almost half of Krosno's total production used to be sold abroad. Now this export—given the fixed level of the dollar and the growing cost of raw materials—is less and less profitable. There is no economic sense in producing solely for the internal market, and foreign markets are becoming less profitable. Where are the alternative markets, and what is to happen to the shareholders' dividend?

"Tonsil," another one of the first five enterprises privatized, is also in a difficult situation. Supplier prices have risen by several dozen percent, and its customers are taking their time to settle their accounts. Financial shortfalls have to be bridged by short-term credit, which is very expensive. There is little prospect of switching from expensive Polish suppliers to cheaper foreign ones. It urgently needs supplies of raw materials.

"Tonsil's" goods are becoming more difficult to sell. Nobody will pay prices that are above world market prices. The only way out would seem to be laying off workers....

Times are also hard at "Prochnik," although official company sources deny it. The structure of production is about to be changed. "Prochnik" will now be diverting approximately 35 percent of its output to the internal market. Up till now it was 25 percent. Once again we see the trend of weakening export earnings. Further changes are planned for the future, and these will be largely dictated by whether the Soviet Union can pay for these products in hard currency. Perhaps some of "Prochnik's" production originally destined for the USSR market could be diverted to the West? The reply we received was evasive.

These five enterprises and the Polish economy were invited to take a lesson in survival last fall. If these five leaders are finding it very hard, how will others cope?

When asked by a TRYBUNA reporter to comment on the difficult economic situation, Janusz Lewandowski, minister of ownership changes, said: "The deteriorating situation is a warning for the future. It makes it paramount to really analyze the financial health of an enterprise before we allow it to proceed to privatize, and we must take into consideration the underlying trends in the whole economy. This is very important during recession and accompanying dynamic shifts in the structure of the economy. It is also a warning to me personally, because I am answerable for the privatization of future enterprises...."

Roman 'State of the Nation Report' Continues

AU0703122891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0946 GMT 7 Mar 91

["Part eight" of "State of the Nation Report" by Prime Minister Petre Roman to Parliament on 26 February]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/8/1991—**The Balance of Payments for 1991**

In the new architecture of Europe and the world, Romania states its readiness to work actively for cooperation in the economic, political and other areas, to join the Council of Europe's programmes and agreements and to fully and unreservedly assume all the obligations resulting thereof. Of course, the desire for European economic integration is not only great but also welcome. This is our aim. However, we must make a lucid appraisal of the possibilities to attain it forthrightly or within the shortest possible time.

We doubt that the East European economies, drained by the communist model they had been shaped to for a long time, can cooperate and compete with the already balanced West European economies unless both groups are ready to accept almost unbearable costs. In that respect, an immediate integration would call for massive east-oriented investment in order to bring the East European economies to an acceptable level but it would also result in the bankruptcy or the swallowing up of recovering economic agents in the East, killed by the competition with the West European companies. This explains our concern to find a stepwise solution that will take us closer to the aim of creating a truly European common market.

The course of a market economy is not always upward and this is another fact we cannot overlook; economy is no universal remedy. It is known to be ridden by recession and even crisis. So, we must carefully watch the trends and tendencies of the world economy in order to protect our own economy which is still fragile.

We are studying the possibility of a free trade zone in Central and Eastern Europe that should allow a beneficial competition among economic agents of comparable strength, on the one hand, and a general growth of the economic systems in that zone for a progressive homogenisation of the European market as a whole, on the other hand.

The Romanian Government was among the first to say that the CMEA had to be dissolved because it had its faults, and even the way it was conceived was faulty. But it is no less true that real economic flows, the interrelationships thre created, a supply and sales market and the facilities that zonal trade may bring cannot be ignored.

We want to make the most of the existing complementarity between the Romanian market and the other Central and East European markets, including the USSR, so that the economic growth of each of us may contribute, to the extent of its resources and its specific capacity for recovery, to a balanced economic and political development in this region, and from it across the continent. Therefore, we support the creation of a new international economic cooperation organisation which differs in principle from the CMEA, apt to favour intrazonal trade, and to stimulate, not restrict the member countries' participation in other international agreements or organisations.

In this way, the new organisation is to work, in the spirit of one of the great tendencies imparted to the world economy by growing interdependencies, to ensure a constant and systematic communication with the EEC and the other European economic bodies.

As a Danubian country, we are also concerned with the creation of a system of cooperation of the Danube countries, which includes the prospect to link the Danube with the Main and the Rhine, and special facilities for land-locked countries. By taking this way cooperation may hopefully remove such sources of tension as can undermine peace and concern certain countries that acceded to independence and sovereignty when the former Habsburg Empire fell apart.

We are a country with a variety of natural resources, with a big industrial, agricultural, trade and tourist potential. There is in Romania an infrastructure as well as a superstructure. However, in the past they were hardly used to advantage, if at all.

A renovation of the infrastructure, new industrial technologies which are urgent demands for the restructuring of the national economy along with the vast potential of tourism are as many facts that support the idea that Romania is a huge market which not only can absorb very much but is also willing to develop strong economic links across Europe.

In pursuing this aim, the government will chiefly rely on the liberalisation of trade and hard-currency exchange, as well as on a market adjusted exchange rate. The measures since the end of 1990 have changed a commercial system in which the state had the monopoly of trade and hard-currency exchanges through central planning, into one in which both state owned and private enterprises are free to engage in foreign trade deals. The customs-duty code inefficient through its generalised exceptions was thoroughly revised. As a result the various discriminatory provisions of that code, such as the tariffs that depended on the end user, were discarded as of 1 January 1991. Also, the highest tariffs were significantly lowered. And yet, even the revised code is regarded as unsuitable for Romania in the longer run, since it does not fit into a reasonable and open customs duty system that could make a solid foundation for its strategy of growing foreign trade relations. Therefore, a new customs duty code with generally lower and less dispersed rates will come into force in mid-1991.

A limited number of tariffs is expected with tariffs rates varying between 10 percent and 30 percent with the kind

of commodity and its processing degree. The government intends to further narrow the range of tariffs as a distinctive part of the integration process. In line with the market-oriented reform programme, the government will not resort to quantitative import restrictions. Market convulsions will be dealt with, if necessary, by a temporary resort to import surcharges. The applications for import licenses will be maintained for statistical reasons only; as far as exports are concerned, licenses will be required only for the products whose domestic prices are controlled by the state or which incorporate imports for which centralised resources were allocated.

The medium-range aim of the money exchange system reform is to make the leu fully convertible. In the transition period, steps toward this aim are the liberalisation of the rules for hard-currency accounts, a recent hard-currency account opening provision (at least 50 percent Of the total export earnings are planned to go there) and for the opening of the money market as a form of hard- currency exchange.

The major aim of these measures is to make the hard-currency allocation process efficient and to make sure that economic agents react properly to prices. Hard-currency restrictions do not apply to current transactions; these funds can be used by exporters for their own import needs or re-sold on the inter-bank market to meet domestic costs. Hard-currency requirements in excess of what one has in one's account can also be bought on the inter-bank market. This market, which started in February 1991, is open to all economic agents, even though its efficiency requires restrictions as far as the size of deals is concerned. With the exception of the payment of profits to non-residents, hard currency can be negotiated for any kind of current deals and transfers among participants through the inter-bank market. Hard-currency deals between natural persons will be opened in April 1991 on a small scale.

The current convertibility aim calls for an exchange rate policy in agreement with a medium-term external viability supported by provisions for the stimulation of exports and for the promotion of efficient import substitutes. Economic constraints and distortions were behind the government's decision to use a dual exchange system for the time being. This dual exchange system is seen as a temporary measure to give greater freedom and flexibility to the system to adjust to the market economy. Through this system, the official exchange rate is set by the National Bank and is used to buy foreign currency that is not withheld, as well as to sell foreign currency for a restricted list of imports (energy sources, iron ore and soybeans) as well as for certain deals of the central administration. The exchange market will operate in such a way as to avoid losses to Romania's National Bank. Any other deals will be directed to the inter-bank market where the exchange rate will be set by market forces. To ensure continuity to the process, distortions will continue to be absorbed. The government is committed to a fast unification of the system, which is planned to be achieved in the medium range, the hard currency sales at auction should put an end to the dual hard curreny rate on the market. As the domestic market resumes its normal pattern, trade at home can no longer be made for dollars.

Shops selling for hard currency will become inacceptable in the changed conditions unless they are part of the tourist network.

Romania is a large importer of energy and raw materials, which makes it particularly vulnerable to international price fluctuations, more marked since the Gulf crisis. At the same time, our economy must cope with the effects of the changed rules of trade with the CMEA countries (where energy products and raw materials prevail in the list of imports). Meanwhile, the reconstruction programme is pressing for imports in an effort to offset the consequences of previous years' restraints, especially on fixed assets and intermediates. On the strength of these facts, the current foreign deficit is expected to stand at 1.7 billion U.S. dollars for 1991.

The government attaches a great importance to the role that foreign investment may play in the economic integration and reconstruction process. The legal visions for the non-residents' profits and capital have been further liberalised; and so have been the legal norms on the role of foreign investors in the privatisation process and on land leases for investment. As a result of these changes, direct foreign investment is estimated to be of at least 100 million in 1991. The government takes the view that reliance on foreign capital is not only possible but also necessary, provided care is taken that foreign funds be so used as to support the foreign debt service and to maintain foreign solvency. To achieve that, a debt-control system should be developed for all foreign contracted or quaranteed debts. The government intends to set a 3.5 billion U.S. dollars ceiling to public contracted or quaranteed indebtedness ranging from one to 12 years a separate 2.5 billion U.S. Dollars ceiling being set for credits falling due within one-to-five years. The public sectors shall have short-term debts limited to strictly necessary commercial credits.

The functional autonomy of economic agents in foreign trade implies specific aspects when discussing foreign trade problems in 1991.

Foreign Ministry on UN Human Rights Report

AU0703170791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1636 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/3/1991—The report on human rights in Romania, which is examined by the UN Commission on Human Rights under way in Geneva, clearly highlights the important processes achieved in this country towards democratizing the economic, social and political life and, especially, towards ensuring and guaranteeing human rights, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, said during his weekly press conference. He also said: The report underscores a number of shortfalls

and errors made after the revolution but the final conclusion is that Romania is firmly committed to pluralist democracy to respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms.

The report pinpoints aspects where the Romanian legislation should improve, especially in the area of the legal system, the treatment of detainees in detention places and local administration.

It also refers to problems raised by representatives of national minorities which, however, as the rapporteur highlighted, are directly linked to the current economic situation. A solution will be arrived at as the government solves the situation and settles the serious issues in the national economy. The special rapporteur also stressed the significance of the creation of the National Human Rights Institute and the sincere, open cooperation he had with the Romanian Government and all Romanian authorities.

A draft resolution of the session requests the commission and the UN Human Rights Center to grant their full support to the Romanian Government and asks the special rapporteur to continue to cooperate with Romania and to set forth a new report to the commission's 1992 session. Romania co-sponsored that draft resolution, Ambassador Chebeleu also said.

Former Political Detainees Protest Leadership

AU0703205291 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 2 Mar 91 p 3

["Declaration" of the Association of Former Political Detainees; place and date not given]

[Text] The Steering Committee of the Association of Former Political Detainees in Romania (AFDPR) condemns and submits to the public's judgment the campaign abundant in violence, all kinds of pressure, and calumny directed against our association and its president Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu as well as against the opposition in general.

Behind organizers of this campaign one can recognize the old "dictator's" experts within the current powers that be as well as the so-called "Commission 14", which, by using the paper-heading "Romanian Parliament" and through pressure and incitement, is consciously playing a dirty game.

We are convinced that the historical verdict given to communism can no longer be postponed. The time will come when the truth will be the truth in our country as well, and those who prove to be guilty of moral assassinations will become known and will answer before the legal bodies for their deeds.

It is clear that now when Romania has received the status of invited guest at the Council of Europe, not being able to carry out arrests or crimes as it wishes, the current leadership is using treacherous weapons—specific to communism—for moral and physical pressure, thus wishing to eliminate from the battlefield all those who belong to the opposition.

The final goal is to make people believe that, as a matter of fact, the only clean people and true democrats in this country are to be found in the presidential, governmental, and legislative institutions and in the apparatus of oppression.

Clinging desperately to power, these people believe that they are predestined—just like until December 1989!—to lead the destinies of the Romanian people. Those who do not understand this are marked as iron guard members, spies, common criminals, and others—in one word, enemies of the people.

Taking into consideration all these facts in addition to the moral and patriotic duty incumbent on us every passing day, the AFDPR is determined to continue to stay in the forefront of the struggle to ensure freedom, well-being, and the establishment of true democracy in our country.

Likewise, we draw the attention of our country and of the international public to the fact that the bodies of the current leadership continue to be directly responsible for everything that has been plotted or continues to be plotted against the physical and moral integrity of the AFDPR members.

We cannot be intimidated by anybody or anything! Any new action against AFDPR members will make us increasingly tougher.

Senate Meets; UDMR, FSN View Anniversary

AU0703211291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2101 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/3/1991—After heated discussions, Romania's Senate decided Thursday, March 7, to put off the debate on the foreign investments bill.

The National Salvation Front [FSN] Senator of Calarasi Ion Neagu said he could not understand why Romania's Government had promoted this bill before the rights of Romanian citizens-investors were established by the pivatisation law. Under the present circumstances, Romanian investors would not stand equal chances with foreign ones, as the former have no capital for investments. That is why Ion Neagu thinks it is necessary first of all that the existing assets be distributed to Romanian citizens by effecting the privatisation law, and it is only afterwards that the foreign capital should join the Romanian one.

At Senator Ion Neagu's proposal, the Senate postponed debating the bill until next week.

After contradictory discussions, the Senate approved the income tax law, with one vote against and ten abstentions.

In the final part of the Thursday, March 7 Senate session Senator Geza Szocs representing the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] made a speech on the historic significance of 15 March 1848. The National Salvation Front Senators Vasile Vacaru and Viorel Faur took the floor, contending that 15 March is Hungary's national day. Vasile Vacaru spoke about the events on 15 March 1848 when the Hungarian Army attacked zones in Transylvania, such as the Apuseni Mountains, where Romanian revolutionaries were fighting, intending to annex Transylvania to Hungary as point 12 in the Hungarian proclamation on 15 March 1848 stipulated.

Trial of Former Top PCR Members Continues

AU0703211491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2033 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/3/1991—In the trial of former Politburo members of the Romanian Communist Party's [PCR] Central Committee on genocide charges, the court, in its Thursday 7 March session, questioning the usefulness of further hearing the witnesses of the prosecution, suggested that the hearings be stopped.

The counsels and the defendants were asked to make proposals for their defense (witnesses, written evidence) that could help toward a correct settlement of the cause.

A discussion of further hearings will be resumed Friday 8 March when the court next meets in session to state its decisions on the requests it was submitted.

The court has extended by another 45 days the rescission for ill health of Ioan Stoian's investigative arrest.

Defendants Gheorghe David, Miu Dobrescu, Suzanica Gadea, Ana Muresan, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Radu and Iosif Szasz are also taking advantage of a similar extension, on nealth grounds.

Speaking in Thursday' session defendant Ioan Totu strongly protested the lack of objectivity of Mircea Dunea from "ADEVARUL" newspaper in covering the trial and asked the court that his credentials be withdrawn by the Bucharest Military Tribunal. The president of the court of law, justice Colonel Gheorghe Ciobotaru, said that being an administrative matter, the request had to be submitted to the leadership of the tribunal.

Iliescu Receives Leader of Romanys' Party

AU0703210991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2053 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/3/1991—This afternoon, President Ion Iliescu has received the leader of the Romanis' Party, Ioan Cioaba, with whom he tackled aspects specific for this minority, the situation somehow different of the Gypsies. Their leader raised the question of a theater of their community in Sibiu and voiced their wish to have a representative in the Senate.

* Need To Make FSN Reform Party Viewed

91BA0329A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 15 Feb 91 pp 1, 3

[Lucia Verona article: "The Real Front Is a Party of Reform"]

[Text] At the forthcoming national convention designed to mark the transformation of the FSN [National Salvation Front] into a modern, strong, center-left party, the major criterion according to which the camps will be sorted out will be the attitude toward the reform.

Established rather late as a political party and having borne the responsibility for the provisional leadership of the country up to the elections, the Front did not have time to structure itself and organize. To a large extent membership in the Front was and still is affective; the uniform framework provided by the platform-program serves more as a tie among the members of this widely heterogeneous group rather than being an outcome of their ideas. That is why, as it has been correctly pointed out, the Front is still a state of mind rather than a party. Its shaky structure was also weakened after the elections by the "migration" of a large number of personalities toward executive and legislative positions.

The shortcomings became increasingly evident; as a party, the Front was a rather pale presence in the Romanian political arena. A need thus appeared to build the Front up into a well organized party.

The first steps have already been taken to eliminate structural shortcomings and achieve a coherent and functional system of communication between the Front as a party, and the executive and legislative branches. More exactly, it was decided that a certain number of FSN parliament and cabinet members should also belong to county councils and to the Bucharest Municipal Council. This can serve to ensure that the measures and laws adopted are conveyed to the grass roots without distortion, and will, in instead, permit a better understanding of all the country's problems, something that will make the Front more coherent and efficient.

Unfortunately but inevitably, the Front has been infiltrated by people interested only in feathering their own nests, who care only about their own interests, and who try to use their position within the Front hierarchy as a springboard into business. Consequently, it has become necessary to establish an ethics and discipline commission to examine all the cases signaled, and take measures against all those found guilty of corruption, illicit business, and influence peddling. In order to be credible and continue to enjoy the support of the majority of the population, the Front must become, as it has been said before, a party of incorruptibles. Any excess or act of corruption traceable to a Front member becomes a blot on the entire party.

On the other hand, the fact that FSN members and even leaders are trying their hand at entrepreneurship—as

long as everything remains legal and aboveboard—may even be viewed as a positive phenomenon. I would find it unnatural if the entrepreneurs—the financial winners of the Revolution—all belonged to the opposition! Let us not forget that entrepreneurship and privatization also mean production and service facilities for the consumers (repairs, installations, construction, tourism, etc.) and not only, and not primarily consignment shops with payment in hard currency.

Similarly, we must not exclude (on the contrary) the idea of the Front's involvement in economic activities.

Until now Front politics were conducted from the top by Parliament and especially government members. The Front made a weak and sporadic showing as a party and its reactions were slow and lacked initiative. This kind of passivity must cease. The Front has an obligation to become more profoundly involved and to be more active and present in politics. With the help of good organization and communication among its various levels, and by drawing valuable members, the Front must become a strong and influential party, a genuine government party. The Front is in fact obligated (just like any party in power in a democratic state) to impose its authority and will, and to make every necessary effort to demonstrate the correctness of the electorate's choice.

At the ideological level, this choice—asserted in actions, not just words—is social-democracy. What this choice means is a state of law, a market economy (in parallel with the preservation of a rather important public sector), and an equitable redistribution of the national wealth achieved through gradual income taxation—in other words, social protection. In our country this was translated into measures such as:

—Partial compensation for financial losses caused by inflation by means of pay allowances, salary indexing, and higher interest on CEC [Savings and Loan Bank] deposits;

—Establishment of a minimum salary in the economy;

—Legislation on unemployment relief, opportunities for professional training and retraining, and social reintegration of the unemployed;

—Granting very advantageous housing purchase or building loans, especially to young people;

—Continued low rent and energy tax until the end of 1991;

—Continued free education and medical care;

—Subsidizing cultural institutions within the limit of possibilities.

For the long term, there are plans to establish a modern and efficient social security system, to continue building more inexpensive housing for low-income people, to invest in developing material resources for education, and to improve the system of student scholarships, also in the form of loans payable after one year of professional employment.

One of the characteristics of modern social-democratic parties is the more or less peaceful coexistence of several currents, groups, and factions. At times of difficulty, however, small differences are set aside and unity is restored around the central idea.

Thus, the emergence of several currents within the Front is not something negative. These currents, however, must be well defined, their viewpoints must be clarified, and each one's situation must be specified both within the Front and in relation to other parties to the left or right of it. The coexistence of such groups may be beneficial if there is an ongoing exchange of views and if these views do not stray from the general directions of social-democracy. More plainly, what unites these currents must be stronger than what separates them.

As a government party, the Front has assumed the enormous and difficult task of the transition to a market economy. The reform program is not a simple plan of economic recovery and growth, but a profound structural change and a reshaping of the entire economic, political, and social life. The implementation of the program does not depend only on decisions taken at the top, i.e., on governmental and legislative action, but also on how the grass roots understand and support this process. The implementation of the specific elements of the reform is running into instances of rejection, too; at times it is a matter of inertia, but at other times there is clear opposition, albeit under the mask of good intentions. In order to preempt blocking by rejection and cut down on the cost of the transition by stepping it up, an ongoing dialogue is of course necessary between the Front and its representatives in the government and Parliament, as well as a definition of the attitude of each Front member toward the reform. That is the only way to ensure that the Front becomes a genuine reform party.

In my opinion, three possible attitudes exist for the reform program, whether within the Front or throughout the Romanian society:

1. A negative attitude, most often characterized by a populist type of opposition, and demands that are often absurd and couched in ultimatum form, and sometimes extreme. Who is showing such tendencies? First of all, the people who thought that getting rid of the dictatorship meant automatic and immediate heaven on earth and every Western comfort—a category of people easy to manipulate with populist slogans. Then there are conscious attempts to undermine the reform by people expected to implement it at an average level—that is, the category of people afraid of losing their privileges. To the same context belong destabilizing attempts by certain opposition forces (parliamentary, "civic," street, or trade union opposition) who try to use to their own advantage the natural dissatisfaction of people subjected to long lines, cold, and the new prices. A few recent

examples of this attitude are the strike of the TAROM employees and the strike organized by the Iasi Regional CFR [Romanian Railway] trade union, not to mention the "general strike" in Timisoara. They are characterized by absurd demands, an ultimatum tone, and ineptitude for dialogue. Their consequences are enormous losses for the national economy and delays in the implementation of the next stages of the reform.

Finally, to this category belong theft from enterprises and unrestrained profiteering.

The possible effect of the predomination of this attitude in the Romanian society may be the failure of the reform, which will inevitably lead to chaos and totalitarianism.

2. A passive-contemplative attitude. This is a very widely spread phenomenon connected to the persistence of the old mentality—a mentality of neediness, of helpless children who cannot take one step without hanging on to the apron strings. It is the attitude of uninvolvement and indifference of those who try to get away with as little work as possible in the knowledge—or hope—that they will get their paychecks anyway; this is also the category of those who expect everything from the government: money, spare parts, and instructions, and who cannot manage to grasp that the government has no money to give, does not manufacture spare parts, and does not provide instructions. This is the category of people who cannot or are afraid to think, and who fear risk and difficulties; they do want a market economy, but prefer to keep their eyes shut on the way there. (This is also the category of the majority of candidates to emigration, including professionals who prefer to go in search of the "ready-made" rather than work hard in the country.) People in this category are quiet, rarely go on strike, and patiently wait for time to pass.

Were this the dominant attitude, the reform may succeed, but with considerable hardships—and the difficult period would last longer. This is, if you like, the alternative of a reform conducted from the top through authoritarian measures implemented with varying degrees of willingness by an obedient population carrying the reform as an inevitable burden.

3. An active, positive attitude of support for the reform and of direct involvement. This is the attitude of those who precisely realize or sense the purpose and mechanism of the reform. I am thinking of those energetic and conscientious people who show initiative and work without having to be begged and entreated and who, if they are managers, struggle to secure orders, raw and other mateirals, efficiency, profitability, and modernization; and if they are employees, work well and efficiently without waste or absenteeism, who work overtime to earn extra money, or who look for a second job in their free time. Here, too, at the risk of scandalizing many, I must mention those who had the courage to invest money, labor, and nerves in private enterprises. Yes, I know, there are excesses, corruption, exorbitant prices, commercial facilities sometimes (more often than not!) secured by dishonest means. Nevertheless, any entrepreneur, even the owner of a consignment shop in hard currency, or of a cafe, does more for the reform (provided of course that he does not violate the law) than a bored female clerk who loses documents or shouts at the public. The fact that the clerk in question may have a photograph of the prime minister under the glass on her desk, while the entrepreneur curses the government, does not change anything. What we now need are not gestures and words, but actions.

An active and courageous attitude is what can ensure the success of the reform, reduce its costs, and even, given favorable conditions, considerably shorten the transition period.

Evidently, in the best of all worlds all the Front members and supporters would belong to the category of those with courage and initiative (which does not mean that they must all open consignment shops, cafes, or newspapers, but they must do their duty as envisaged in their labor contract. You think that is too little?), but equally evidently many belong to the second category, that of the silent who wait for instructions "from the top." I am convinced that a better organization of the Front and better understanding at all the levels of the reform mechanism—which implies that this mechanism must be explained so as to be understood by all and that technical and legal terms must be decoded and translated in everyday language—can help change the contemplative attitude into an active, positive one.

As for those who oppose the reform in everything they do for one reason or another (even if their support it in words), their place is certainly not in the FSN. But it is possible that they nevertheless slipped through, just like individuals out for a quick buck slipped through. That is precisely why—which brings me back to the beginning—the National Convention must offer an opportunity for clearly and categorically defining each one's attitude toward the reform.

Effective participation by each Front member in the reform, however, does not rule out affective participation. While becoming a strong party deeply involved in the reform, the Front must nevertheless continue to be a state of mind, too. In this light, I think that preserving the name Front is necessary and even natural.

RMDSZ Meeting Views 15 March National Holiday

AU0703141591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Mar 91 p 3

[Peter Mag report: "Let It Be the Celebration of Coexistence in Romania"]

[Text] On Friday and Saturday [1 and 2 March], the national steering committee of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] met in Satu

Mare, where it decided that the second RMDSZ congress would be held in Tirgu Mures between 24 and 26 May. The committee also decided that Hungarians in Romania would want to celebrate 15 March [commemoration of Hungary's 1848 uprising against the Habsburgs] in an intimate atmosphere, according to the circumstances in their particular locality. Hungarians wish to commemorate this anniversary in a spirit of fraternity and solidarity; they definitely want to promote peaceful cooperation with the Romanian population (the majority,) and they aim to prevent any possible chauvinistic or nationalistic provocations. In localities where other options are ruled out, Hungarians will celebrate 15 March during their church service.

The restructured Independent Hungarian Party of Romania [Fuggetlen Magyar Part] was taken on as a collective member of the association. As an associate collective member of the RMDSZ, the Independent Hungarian Party wants to act as a liberal party. The Independent Hungarian Party has thus become the next in a series of Hungarian political parties in Romania to join the RMDSZ, alongside the Hungarian Smallholders' Party of Romania [Romaniai Magyar Kisgazdapart], the Hungarian Christian Democratic Party of Romania [Romaniai Magyar Keresztenydemokrata Part], as well as other federations, societies, and associations.

In Satu Mare, the RMDSZ particularly stressed the need for Hungarians in Romania to be united on the basis of political pluralism. The steering committee also stated that the county and national branches of the RMDSZ should benefit from their experience and draw conclusions from their mistakes, so that they may show greater determination in each of their actions—in proving themselves as leaders of the opposition, in choosing their partners, and in cooperating with these partners.

Nastase's Statements Upon Departure for SFRY

AU0703211591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2008 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/3/1991—Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase left Thursday [7 March] for a visit to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. "The meaning of the visit I start today in Yugoslavia is to mark the continuity of a friendship and the need for a permanent contact between two foreign ministries and two governments," said the minister before takeoff at Bucharest's Otopeni Airport. "So, the visit is an opportunity not only for mutual information but also for an exchange of thoughts on the future. Our Yugoslav friends and we are interested to know what will happen in Europe, what happens in the Persian Gulf. I think that such working meetings which do not have a specific protocol, are a natural way of developing a good neighborliness diplomacy".

Prime Minister Continues Latin American Tour

Ends Visit to Chile, Leaves for Ecuador

AU0703212191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2108 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 7/3/1991—The Romanian prime minister's visit to Chile ended today. After the last interview, Prime Minister Petre Roman and Chile's President Patricio Aylwin Azocar, made short statements to the press:

For the government and the people of Chile, said, inter alia, Chile's president, the visit of Romania's prime minister has been an opportunity for deep satisfaction and I think it will prove useful for our countries relations, due both to the views we have exchanged on our countries relations, which have so many likeness in their strive for democratization, and to the commercial and cultural exchanges it will make possible".

In his turn, the Romanian head of government said: "We have reasons to be glad for and content with the results of this visit. We have identified places of joint interest for our industrial and commercial cooperation. We are about to find the right people capable to convert these interests into projects. The agreements reached are meant to facilitate these projects. The visit also proved interesting from the political and diplomatic points of view, if we consider the fact that Romania is seen here, as President Aylwin pointed out, like a bridge between Latin America and Eastern Europe, due to its Latinity".

Although on holidays, the Chamber of Deputies assembled in a special session to hear the Romanian prime minister's expose on Romania's progress towards real democracy, a free market economy and observance of the human rights.

Tuesday, at noon, the Romanian minister of resources and industry, Mihai Zisu, and the Chilean Minister of Foreign Affairs Enrique Silva Cimma, signed two frame-agreements on the development of cooperation between Romania and Chile, expressing the two countries' wish to promote their economic relations, for which purpose they grant each other the most favored nation status.

The press communique also shows that the talks, the exchanges of views occasioned by the presence in Chile of the Romanian prime minister enjoyed a "very positive" atmosphere. The talks revealed that "the two sides' positions and opinions amply coincided" in the main matters regarding world politics, the assessment of the democratic developments in Eastern Europe and Latin America. It was also agreed upon the necessity to consolidate the United Nations system as a viable instrument apt to ensure and guarantee international peace and security. Both sides underlined their willingness to continue and substantiate the dialogue initiated in 1990 by the Rio Countries Group and the East European countries, also to boost economic relations between

these countries, and expressed their satisfaction for the cease fire in the Persian Gulf.

Chile stressed it was ready to cooperate with Romania in the field of privatisation of public enterprises, in the development of the financial and banking systems, in promoting exports.

The sides agreed that this year's session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Technical and Commercial Cooperation should be held at Santiago de Chile in the second semester.

The official dialogue between Romania and Chile is to continue with President Aylwin's visit to Bucharest, probably before the end of this year.

Before leaving Santiago de Chile, Prime Minister Petre Roman met with Romanian and foreign press representatives. Their interest was particularly keen on the concrete results of the Romanian prime minister's contacts with the Chilean officials, but also on Romania's economic prospects and internal political agenda, on its position to several world issues of the day.

This afternoon, Prime Minister Petre Roman has started his visit to Quito, where he is to have meetings of utmost importance for the development of cooperation between Romania and Ecuador.

Arrives in Ecuador

AU0803093791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0728 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1991—On Thursday Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman arrived in Quito on a 72-hour official visit to Ecuador coming from Chile.

Mr. Petre Roman was welcomed by President Rodrigo Borja, with whom he had then a first interview. A second meeting is scheduled for Friday.

The Romanian prime minister is to meet also the Ecuadoran minister of energy and mines, Diego Tamariz, the Ecuadoran vice-president, Luis Parodi, the president of the congress, Edelberto Bonilla, as well as representatives of the Ecuadoran economic life.

Loncar, Nastase Discuss Bilateral Relations

LD0803161191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Romania could set an example to others with their traditionally good relations and cooperation in all spheres, ranging from economic, cultural, and national minorities. [passage omitted]

The meetings focused on relations between the two countries and current international issues, particularly on the situation in the Gulf following the end of the war. Because Loncar and Nastase examined in detail bilateral relations yesterday, their attention today was focused on the status of the national minorities in the two countries that, as it was said, constitute yet another link in the good-neighbourly relations between Romania and the SFRY.

Loncar said that "we expect that democratic conditions will enable members of our national minorities in Romania to express and articulate their own programs of comprehensive development and that more attention will be attached to restoring the cultural heritage of Serbs and Croats and developing education in their mother language." Loncar said "we also expect the new Romanian Constitution to guarantee the Yugoslav national minorities all rights."

Nastase said that in Romania's national minorities "enjoy all rights to the full" and that Bucharest was willing "to meet strictly all its most important international obligations to national minorities."

Evidently, the status of Romania's national minorities has decisively, positively, changed since the Romanian revolution, he said today.

Loncar informed his guest about Yugoslavia's activities, in its capacity as presiding member of the Nonaligned Movement, at ensuring the lasting stability in the Gulf and Middle East region, as a whole.

Preparations for an international conference on security, and the Mediterrancan's CSCE, were also discussed.

"We are very pleased with the two-day talks in Belgrade," Nastase told TANJUG. He also pointed out a "very friendly, open, and constructive exchange of views" on all the issues in his talks with Loncar. He maintains that, in these new, changing conditions, "the two countries that depend on each other in many aspects have a possibility of cooperating more intensely in all areas. Nastase also emphasized the significance of the Belgrade talks and the continuity of bilateral contacts at all levels.

Nastase expressed his satisfaction at the fact that two new border crossings would open this year, "which testifies to the significance we attach to our relations with Yugoslavia." He said two more crossings would open next year.

Talks Focus on Pace of Cooperation

LD0803143891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic met with Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase today.

In their cordial talks, which focussed on the pace of the process of cooperation between Serbia and Romania within the framework of overall Yugoslav-Romanian relations, it was concluded that conditions for the preservation and nurturing of the identity and cultural traditions of the Serbian people in Romania have considerably improved.

Special attention was paid to the further development of mutual economic relations. The common interest to expand the economic cooperation between Serbia and Romania in agriculture, machine industry, energy production, transportation, and other areas was stressed. The need was noted for a more efficient use of border cooperation and trade in accordance with relative advantages and interests of the two countries, as well as for a more efficient exploitation of the Danube river.

Issues regarding the implementation of initiatives from scientific, educational, cultural, and other fields of mutual cooperation were discussed.

Adrian Nastase extended greetings from Romanian President Ion Iliescu to Slobodan Milosevic and renewed Milosevic's invitation to visit Romania.

Romanian Foreign Minister Arrives

LD0703204491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—Romanian Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase arrived in Belgrade today on a two-day visit to Yugoslavia. Immediately on his arrival he met his host, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar, with whom he exchanged views on bilateral cooperation and international events.

Nastase and Loncar will continue their talks tomorrow, when the Romanian visitor is expected to be received by President of the SFRY Presidency Borisav Jovic and Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

Adrian Nastase's visit today is the first important bilateral contact between Yugoslavia and Rromania since last year's visit of President Ion Iliescu.

Reportage on Markovic Visit to Austria

W10703170091

For reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Ante Markovic to Austria, including reports on his talks with Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, see the Austria section of the 7 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Tudjman, Mesic View Croatian Political Scene

LD0803050991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1619 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic talked with foreign journalists in Zagreb today about many questions regarding the current political situation in Croatia and Yugoslavia. According to Croatian Radio, President Tudjman said:

"The scenario still envisages spreading the Serbian population's unrest wherever this is possible. It is so elaborate that the reception and transport of Serbs from eastern Slavonia, who were allegedly threatened by the Croatian Ustasa-minded authorities, was organized as early as one month ago, because it planned to transfer the unrest from southern Croatia to northern Croatia."

Asked why there were attempts at inciting interethnic conflicts, Tudjman said that "these are attempts at creating conditions for the Army to intervene, because the democratic world public would find it unacceptable if they said that they want to topple Croatia's democratically elected authorities by armed force, and then to do the same in Slovenia and other parts of Yugoslavia. If one managed to incite interethnic conflicts, the Army would have the right and duty to intervene. This is why we have refrained so far from intervening with our police forces, even when we should have done so for the sake of sheer reason."

In addition to other questiitons, President Tudjman also answered a question about the active presence and maneuvers of units of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] in the vicinity of Knin and Pakrac, and in some other parts of Croatia. In his answer he confirmed the Army's well-known political ambitions, and said: "The top military brass have not ordered armed intervention so far, as the distribution of power in Yugoslavia is such that a military intervention would be fatal for both the Army and Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the predominance among the top brass of forces that want to install a centralist, unitarist Yugoslavia and a return to communism is a threat that Croatia must take into account."

Stipe Mesic supported this assessment in saying that "everything the JNA is doing should be seen as a reaction to an outdated system of state and army, which is being threatened, and is still defending itself—and as the articulation of the JNA being bound by its ideology and by officers' fears that the creation of repubican armies will render them jobless. This danger, however, is out of place, because they will be able to continue to do their job. As far as its being bound by ideology, one should say that only yesterday there was the League of Communists of Yugoslavia inside the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, and no sooner had it been abolished than the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia was promoted, and joined by almost all the officers."

"Consequently," Mesic resumed, "if there are any political paramilitary organizations in Yugoslavia then the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia is certainly one." In conclusion he regarded the attempt by the JNA to settle problems in Croatia instead of its duty to guard the borders as cynicism, as it demands in the same breath that Croatia finance this same army.

President Tudjman stressed that so far, in all the events in Croatia, no one has died or been injured by a Croatian bullet. He added that "this is something we may be proud of now, and we are hoping that even if civil war breaks out we will be able to resist it, by virtue of our determination—that we will win world support and avoid civil war, and that eventually even those who want it will be forced to compromise, to emerge from the crisis into an alliance that will be accepted by all Yugoslav republics."

About 20 media, television, and radio journalists from the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, Spain, the Netherlands, and Italy took part in today's conversation.

Haider, Croatia's Manolic Back Independence

AU0603161091 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 6 Mar 91 p 3

[Samo Kobenter report: "Croatia's Prime Minister: The Army Deceived us"]

[Text] Agram—On the fringes of talks with Carinthian Governor Joerg Haider in Agram on Tuesday [5 March], the Croatian Prime Minister [Josip Manolic] leveled serious charges against the Yugoslav Army leadership. He said that it deceived the people about the hostilities in the western Slovenian town of Pakrac last weekend [2-3 March] when three people were injured.

"The Army never set a deadline for the withdrawal of our special police," stressed Manolic. He said that there were still enough units of this force in Pakrac to guarantee peace. He said that in its destabilization efforts, the Army was so over-zealous that even before the fighting broke out it gave the names of civilians who were allegedly killed.

Manolic said that in any case, Croatia could not be stopped on its road to independence. He declined to confirm reports that independence would be declared this spring. He said he believed that Bosnia would follow Croatia's course.

Haider: International Conference

On this background, Haider said that the democraticization efforts of the Balkan countries should be actively backed. He criticized Austrian foreign policy for having neglected its southeastern neighbors recently, and suggested an international conference on the stabilization of the political situation in Yugoslavia. He said that all Western European democracies were called upon to

practice solidarity with the republics striving for independence, so they could not be stopped at the eleventh hour. Slovenia and Croatia should be recognized as sovereign states as soon as they seceded from the Yugoslav federation, Haider said.

Military Statement on 'Attack' by Croatian Troops

LD0703175491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Statement by the Fifth Military District Command on "the opening of fire on Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] members by the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs troops in Pakrac;" place and date not given]

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—"On 2 March, 1991, at about 1930, an armored personnel vehicle belonging to the [Croatian] Internal Affairs Ministry coming from the center of Pakrac toward Lipik, turned onto a side-street leading to the medical center in Pakrac. It used searchlights to illuminate the area in front of the hospital, the hospital reception area, several citizens who happened to be there, and Corporal Sasa Bozanic and Soldier Robert Kajba who were in front of the reception at the order of a superior officer. Their task was to act as watch-guards for a unit that was deployed around the hospital. Internal Affairs Ministry bodies knew about its placement there.

"Following an indistinct appeal, a machine-gun burst was fired at soldiers from the armored vehicle. After this burst of fire was returned, another machine gun burst was directed at the soliders. The armored vehicle then turned around and headed toward the center of Pakrac.

"All of this was witnessed, apart from the soldiers, by a group of civilians who were in the hospital reception area at that time. Written statements that the attack involved an Internal Affairs Ministry armored vehicle, as well as material evidence, exist. There are visible traces on the reception and hospital walls, as well as traces of ricocheted bullets on the sidewalk. Windows were broken in the cardiology and cystoscopy departments on the hospital's first floor, and in the surgical department on the second floor.

"The Fifth Military District Command especially stresses that Robert Kajba, born in Zagreb and living in Kalnec [Slovenia], is alive thanks to the swift reaction of Corporal Bozanic, who provided shelter for both of them. We ask what "truth" the Internal Affairs Ministry would supply if Kajba had been killed?

"We stress that the unit commander's order that heavy artillery should not be used against the Internal Affairs Ministry armored personnel vehicle was due only to concern for the safety of citizens and people in the hospital. If in the future anyone decides to open fire at JNA members and technical equipment, they will be showered with bullets from all available JNA equipment and annihilated on the spot. Our units will do this for their own safety and for the safety of JNA members and technical equipment.

"The Fifth Military District Command has begun criminal proceedings against the perpetrators of this armed attack on JNA members," the statement concludes. Colonel Aleksije Luk was authorized to sign the statement by the Fifth Military District Command.

Croatian Industrial Production Declines

LD0703112991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0924 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Zagreb, March 7 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Croatia recorded a 22.9 percent drop in indusrial production in January of this year as against January 1990, the republican statistical office reports. The production of consumer goods dropped by 18.4 percent, of raw materials and semi-manufactures, by 20.5 percent, and of capital goods, by 37.9 percent.

Production in January dropped by 20.7 percent as against the average production in 1990. This triggered off a reduction in the work force by 1.4 percent or 20,420 workers.

Croatian exports in January 1991 amounted to 321 million dollars, or 17.6 percent less than in the same month of last year. Imports amounted to 353 million dollars, or 13.7 percent less than in January 1990.

Costs of living in Croatia rose in January of this year by 5.2 percent over December 1990, or 77 percent over January 1990.

Industrial production in Yugoslavia in January of this year dropped by 18.2 percent as against January 1990.

Montenegro Demands Inquiry Into Albanian Exodus

LD0703191491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Excerpts] Titograd, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin government is insisting that the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs—via its diplomatic representation in Albania—establish the true reasons and motives behind the mass migration of Albanian citizens into Yugoslavia, considering that indications exist that the Albanian authorities directly encouraged their crossing into Montenegro. Should this prove to be so, the republican government will raise a question of reciprocity—via the Federal Executive Council—in keeping with international law.

This statement is contained in the Montenegrin government's conclusions adopted at a session this afternoon, after examining the report of the Ministry of Internal Affairs about last night's crossing of Albanian citizens into the territory of this republic. Five hundred and forty two persons crossed the border and they are all temporarily accomodated at the Spuz corrective institution near Titograd. [passage omitted]

Funds for Temporary Care of Albanians

LD0703220991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2022 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Mar 7 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today announced it would provide funds from the federal budget for the temporary care of groups of Albanian citizens, of Serbian-Montenegrin origin, who last night fled to the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

The government placed the Interior Ministry, in cooperation with the representative of the U.N. high commissioner for refugees, in charge of establishing who among the Albanian refugees qualifies for the refugee status. [passage omitted]

Milosevic Sends Message to Alia

AU0703214791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] The following report is carried in tomorrow's POLITIKA:

Serbian Foreign Affairs Minister Branko Mikasinovic called Albanian Ambassador [Kujtim] Hysenaj the day before yesterday and handed him a message from Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania, in which Milosevic insists that, in the name of neighborly relations and respect for human rights, Serbs and Montenegrins be enabled to freely leave for Yugoslavia.

Peterle on Austrian Support for Independence

AU0803092691 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0800 GMT 8 Mar 91

[Interview with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle by Alfred Schwarz in Vienna on 7 March—recorded. Peterle answers in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed translation into German]

[Text] [Announcer] Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said following talks with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic two days ago [6 March] that Austria considers Belgrade alone to be its international partner in talks. Yesterday [7 March], Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle was in Vienna to hold talks with Mayor Helmut Zilk.

[Schwarz] Do you think that Austria supports you sufficiently in your aspirations for independence?

[Peterle] I understand Mr. Vranitzky's standpoint. He has to consider formalities. On the other hand, I would say that Austria has shown much understanding for our political goals and has steadfastly supported us.

[Schwarz] At one time when an Austrian delegation held talks with the Slovene energy minister and subsequently briefed the Belgrade government on the talks, Slovenia was irritated that Austria had informed Belgrade about a matter—the Krsko nuclear power plant—that only concerned Slovenia and Croatia.

[Peterle] Regarding the Krsko nuclear reactor, we are dealing with a very sovereign area. Austria can only talk with Slovenia and, to a certain extent, also with Croatia about Krsko. In this sense, it was not useful or necessary to include the Yugoslav Government.

[Schwarz] How serious is Slovenia's announcement that it will become independent in May?

[Peterle] I am convinced that May is not a magic date. The decision that the Slovenian Assembly will make is binding. We must have completed the major part of work on the road to sovereignty by the end of June. Events may take place, however, that may make it necessary for us to carry out some actions earlier. In such a case, April would be possible. It depends on how the talks and events in Yugoslavia are developing.

[Schwarz] What kind of events could there be? Do you think it could be the use of military force?

[Peterle] We have repeatedly said that if the situation in Yugoslavia were to be settled by force, we would secede earlier. For now, we are trying to find a peaceful solution.

Slovenia Amends Military Service Provisions

LD0703170891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—With only one negative vote, the Slovene Assembly adopted a constitutional law by which the young men of the republic will, until the adoption of the new constitution, do their military service only in units of the territorial defense and the Slovene police. They will serve in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] only if they so wish. The new constitution will regulate how and whether there will be military service in Slovenia, taking into consideration the increasingly widespread orientation of the inhabitants of the republic toward demilitarization.

According to the estimates of the law's proposers, 2,000 to 3,000 recruits of the total 12,000 or so will do their military service this year in units of the territorial defense or Slovene police. Draft papers recently sent for military service in the JNA will, it was explained, be "annulled". Under the law on military duty, which is yet to be adopted on the basis of the constitutional law, it is possible that the number of recruits who will do their military service in the territorial defense or police will be increased. If this number is adhered to, it is possible that deputies of the Party of Democratic Reform [Stranka Demokratione Prenove—SDP] will consider significantly reducing the republic's military budget. Deputies' Chairman Miran Potrc told journalists the SDP has already drafted an appropriate request to the assembly.

The law also envisages civilian service that would, under the constitutional law, last seven months, like the "usual" military service. This provision was put in at the insistence, in particular, of the opposition, or more

precisely deputies of the Liberal Democratic Party [Liberalna Demokrationa Stranka].

DEMOS Leader Visits Expatriates in Australia

AU0703202991 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 28 Feb 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Slovenia Should Leave Before the Bloodshed Starts"]

[Excerpt] Sydney—"It is perfectly possible to avoid a civil war in Yugoslavia, particularly on the territory of Slovenia," Demos President Dr. Joze Pucnik said in Sydney yesterday.

At the news conference Pucnik said that Slovenia wishes to leave Yugoslavia before the bloodshed in the country starts.

At the same time he was convinced that the Yugoslav People's Army will not intervene in Slovenia, but nevertheless added that such a possibility could not be completely dismissed.

The Demos leader has been on a two-week private visit in Australia, where he was invited by Slovene expatriates, since 21 February. During the visit he will meet officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Canberra and the representatives of the opposition.

Pucnik said that during these meetings he will advocate changes in the methodology of the census in Australia. The category of origin should be determined on the basis of the nationality and not on the basis of the country from which Slovenes arrived. The visit of the Demos leader coincided with the adoption of the Division Resolution by the Slovene Assembly in Ljubljana; his meetings with Slovene expatriates in Brisbane took place in a festive atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Slovene Unions Oppose New Constitution

AU0703200191 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Mar 91 p 2

[Ivica Burnik report: "Text of the New Slovene Constitution Is Unacceptable for Workers"]

[Excerpt] Celje, 3 Mar—If the proposal of the new Slovene constitution will no longer contain social welfare and humanism issues then the Independent Trade Unions of Slovenia [NSS] will call upon the workers to boycott its adoption. Yesterday, at the first session of the NSS presidium this year, its president Rastko Plohl reminded people that this is not the first time the NSS is pointing out major shortcomings of the new Slovene constitution to its authors.

At its session in November, the NSS Presidium expressed its opinion that the text of the new Slovene constitution was completely unacceptable for workers, because it violates several of the rights that they have already achieved in the past—namely, the right to work, to be educated, and to have adequate medical and pension security, as well as various social security rights. Later on, the NSS organized a roundtable to discuss the constitution, but that time the constitutional commission neither responded to their invitation nor acknowledged their proposals. If the authorities continue to ignore the unions' demands, they will have no other choice but to boycott the adoption of the constitution. The Confederation of Trade Unions 90, whom the NSS joined yesterday, has already supported their demands and now the NSS will try to get support from other trade unions as well.

The NSS is also very dissatisfied with the current sale of the public property, in which no one takes into account the share that workers contributed toward it with their work. Therefore, the NSS demands that a referendum be carried out to determine a way in which to transform the public property. The workers should receive bonds, which they would later be able to change into shares, if they wish. [passage omitted]

Draskovic Warns of Dangers of Civil War

AU0703150691 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 91 p 4

[R.M. report: "If Blood Is Shed, We Will Be Damned"]

[Text] At yesterday's news conference in Sarajevo, Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] President Vuk Draskovic said that he was glad that he had come to Bosnia now, which was "until three to four years ago the Katanga of Europe, and now this role has been taken over by Serbia." Expressing the hope that this will nevertheless pass quickly, Draskovic commented that we are living through difficult and paranoid times and that reasonable people will determine whether we will be throttled.

Speaking on the future of Yugoslavia and Serbia, Draskovic said: "If reason prevails, Yugoslavia can satisfy everyone, but if it disintegrates, the remains will be Serbian. Since the time of Ilija Garasanin [19th century Serbian politician], Serbs have not had their own program and we have twice in this century paid in blood for this, and now, we are facing the third fateful crossroads unprepared. Even in fall, the SPO advocated that wise people take part in working out this program, that this national program be urgently outlined, and that another fratricidal war be avoided. We do not deviate from these aims even today, but the chances are few. I even personally wrote to [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic, asking him to join in with these tasks, but he replied that the Eighth session [of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia] and its conclusions were sufficient for this."

Asked what he thought about the declaration of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the SPO's attitude to the Serbian Democratic Party, Draskovic replied: "I think that we should divide ourselves to an absurd extent, to then more easily unite. Both the Slovenes and Croats can depart, but they cannot take away even a scrap of Serbian land. If all this were to happen, and one should believe that it will not, the SPO will advocate that

Dubrovnik not depart either, so it is neither Croatian or Serbian, but its own. In this case, Western Hercegovina would be Croatian and we would not take it even if we were offered it. Reasonable people will not wage war."

Draskovic said that "I feel the same about the membership of the Serbian Democratic Party as I do about the membership of the SPO, but I always reproach people who go to others for the cut of their trousers. Thus, Mr. Radovan Karadzic has, on the orders of his master, not stopped attacking me and the SPO for the last year, even going as far as recently calling me a collaborator of the Ustasha-Croatia while standing over a wartime pit. The same gentleman has also helped in the creation of a mistaken picture about the number of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Replying to a question on what he thought about the problems of Kosovo and Knin, Draskovic said that his view of Kosovo had not changed and that he will always be in favor of talks because "even wars end in negotiations, so why then should we wage war to talk when we can conduct talks immediately."

"Regarding Knin," Draskovic continued, "you can see for yourselves what is happening there. An unhappy people have been left to themselves and feel that they are already to some extent being haggled over, but they do not want either pits or Jasenovac ever again. The chessboard is not killing, but you know that those who have carried it, have committed the greatest crime against the Serbian people and now, you see, they are on the offensive again. These maniacs are now talking about flags on the Romanija mountain but they do not know that even if they were to pass the old Vujadin and the child Grujica [characters from epic poetry] at the bottom of Romanija, there would be someone at the top waiting for them. Of course, we do not want this war, nor are we fomenting it, and we especially do not support the Yugoslav People's Army and Broz's generals, who have allowed everyone to arm who is against the Serbs. We do not want war because in the whole of history we have had only one man who has led a victorious war. That was Emperor Dusan who was subsequently not proclaimed a saint only because he was a conqueror. If arms were to be fired somewhere against Serbia, all of Serbia would move toward the front overnight. I really feel sorry for the Croatian people and I hope to God that what will certainly happen to them if they embark on war will not happen to them. Of course, I repeat that, if even one life is lost, we will be a damned country."

Commenting on current events in Serbia, Draskovic claimed that not only does the Socialist Party not rule there, it also actually does not exist. "Serbia is already being governed by the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, but I believe that people will slowly realize this and come to their senses," SPO President Vuk Draskovic concluded.

Collective Leadership for Serbian Socialist Party

LD0603185791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 6 Mar 91

[Report on news conference by SPS board members Vladimir Stambuk and Zivorad Igic on 6 March; place not given]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—Instead of Slobodan Milosevic, the duties of chairman of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] will be discharged by a collective leadership—the SPS Excutive Committee. This has been decided by the SPS main board because, by the terms of the Serbian Constitution, the president of the Serbian Republic cannot simultaneously hold any other political office.

According to Zivorad Igic, who is chairman of the SPS Committee for Kosovo, SPS has 70,000 members in Kosovo,including 55,000 Serbs, 8,000 Montenegrins, 3,500 Romanians, 3,000 Muslims and 300 Albanians. [paassage omitted]

The answer to a question on the SPS' international cooperation was that after the elections, this party is working in a more committed way in this area, and that it has established contacts with many left-oriented parties, throughout Europe. Our action is handicapped by the fact that in the past our international cooperation was exclusively on a Yugoslav level. At the same time, most of these large foreign parties support a united Yugoslavia and, in this context, want cooperation predominantly on the Yugoslav level.

Igic stressed that it is incorrect to say that Serbia is isolated and that President Milosevic is receiving many invitations to pay a visit (he mentioned Russia, Israel, California, Greece, and Bulgaria) but that at this moment, because of the situation in the country, he cannot make these visits.

Vladimir Stambuk said that administration in the party has been reduced by some 30 to 40 percent, and that attempts are being made to ensure an existence for retired employees.

Serbian Socialist Party Leadership Change

LD0703162991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—A decision passed yesterday by the main committee of the Socialist party of Serbia [Socijalisticka Partija Srbije—SPS] by which Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will cease to be SPS president was to be expected because under the Serbian constitution the republic president cannot simultaneously perform other political functions.

Because there are no legal obstacles, Slobodan Milosevic will remain a member of the SPS. The SPS presidential functions will be carried out by an executive body of the main committee comprising 21 members and including

Petar Skundric, SPS general secretary, and vice presidents Mihailo Markovic, Bogdan Trifunovic, and Radmila Andjelkovic.

As one of the founders and the most influential member of the SPS Slobodan Milosevic will, in other words, continue to take part in the work of the party and execute his duties according to the party's statute.

Renaissance Movement's Belgrade Protest Banned

LD0703184891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—The Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs in Belgrade has banned the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SRM] from holding a meeting—and we quote today's communique—"on the territory of the city of Belgrade, except at Usce, in accordance with the decision passed by the executive council of the Belgrade City Assembly."

The SRM filed an application for holding a public meeting, i.e. peaceful demonstrations, at 1200 on 9 March on Republic Square and at 10 Takovska Street, with the aim of "helping Belgrade Radio and TV to work in keeping with the constitution and laws."

The Ministry of Internal Affairs warned SRM representatives that holding the meeting at the proposed venues and time could lead to a violation of public peace and order, as well as disruptions to public transport, but SRM representatives kept to their demands, and the meeting was banned on the basis of the law on public gatherings.

Macedonian Attitude to Future Setup Viewed

AU0703143391 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 91 p 2

[D. Joksic report: "Waiting for the Others"]

[Text] Skopje, 26 February—Macedonia is not in favor of either a modern federation or a confederation, or an asymmetric community. It is in favor of a union of sovereign states without any changes to the present borders, which are not administrative but state borders. Neither is Macedonia in favor of a referendum at which citizens would decide in which state they would like to live because, as is being stressed here, this would inevitably change the present borders.

This stand, which the Macedonian delegation has also been representing at the Yugoslav summits so far, was affirmed at yesterday's afternoon session of the Macedonian Assembly, by President Kiro Gligorov. Mentioning that Macedonia is prepared to negotiate on a union of sovereign republics, he particularly stressed four areas that should be discussed:

"These are human rights, economic relations and the market, national defense, and foreign policy."

Macedonia has made positive progress with this proposal in the talks on the future of Yugoslavia. Were it not for its incompleteness, this progress would have been even greater. What are we actually talking about? With its nevertheless incomplete stand on a union of sovereign states, Macedonia has, whether it wanted to or not, given Croatia the right, which was confirmed at recent talks in Skopje between [Croatian President] Tudjman and Gligorov, to classify it as one of the republics that are in favor of a confederation. Considering the similarity in stands, Slovenia has also taken over the right to number Macedonia among its allies. Even though Macedonia has resisted this, stressing that it supports neither bloc, the very fact that it is in favor of a union of sovereign states, or as Croatia calls it, a confederation, implies that it is inclined toward one side.

This republic's proposal that the Yugoslav summits discuss not the form but the essence of the issue, that is to say, the four elements that it proposes, seems to be acceptable to everyone. Macedonia has made great progress with this stand. It would have been greater, had it explained its stand in more detail and said: We are for these kinds of human rights, for these kinds of economic relations, for this kind of national defense, and this kind of foreign policy. In other words, had it clearly said what it intended for all four elements. It turns out that it is continuing to behave tactically and waiting to see what the others will propose. Had it done this on time, it would have also avoided the trap in which it involuntarily fell. Considering the stands of the assemblies of Slovenia and Croatia on disassociation, it was forced into thinking about this. It was indeed forced into this by deputies from the ranks of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity, which reacts to every move by Slovenia and Croatia by advocating that something similar also be implemented in Macedonia. They have been increasingly bolstered and supported in such stands by the Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity, which finds some benefit for itself in all this.

The mood among the people and a number of deputies is that one should support dissolving Yugoslavia and then patch it up. The pressure of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity and the Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity, as well as circumstances in the country, has forced the Constitutional Commission of the Macedonian Assembly to also analyze this disassociation option.

Finally, let us also say that in the political life of Macedonia, in which the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia is strengthening on one side, more radical stands have appeared in some more insignificant parties. That is to say, in the statement that arrived at our offices today, the Party for Human Rights of Macedonia from Strumica, headed by Ilija Ilievski, invites the republic's citizens to an urgent referendum and calls for the creation of the independent state of Macedonia. Such a demand has not yet been heard in the

Macedonian Assembly, but considering the development of events, it will not be surprising if members of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, which advocates a confederation with Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania, were in the future to demand the creation of an independent Macedonian state.

Bulgarians Support Macedonian State

AU0703124291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 91 p 9

[Nikola Burzan commentary: "Bulgarian 'Support'"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Ministry for External Affairs has published a declaration recently in which it stated that our Eastern neighbor follows "with attention and support" the democratic processes in Yugoslavia. On this occasion Bulgaria paid special attention to Macedonia in what seems to be a completely different context and style than ever before; we could say: a complete reversal in the Bulgarian foreign politics.

"Our country," the declaration emphasizes, "has no intention of preventing the Socialist Republic of Macedonia from constituting itself as a state (!?)." And then: "If in the future, Macedonia decides to become an independent state, as a result of an internal Yugoslav agreement and the Yugoslav state of affairs, then Bulgaria will respect its wish, and again repeats that it has no territorial demands toward it!?" [punctuation as published]

Really, Bulgaria has always been capable of judging the situation and the moment when we needed its help and support. The discussion on Yugoslavia's future is at its peak, but Bulgaria—in a brotherly and patronizing manner—consoles and calms Macedonia, while it is in fact encouraging it to leave Yugoslavia and form "an independent state."

Bulgaria is even worried for Macedonia. So much so, that it advises (Belgrade, who else?) that the destiny of Macedonia must be determined by its population, and in no way by "any of the Balkan capital cities!?" The allusion is perfectly obvious; surely this does not refer to Sofia or Athens, and most certainly not to Tirana?

The phrase in the declaration, that Bulgaria wishes "to strengthen and deepen its relations with Yugoslavia," remains only empty words on paper, if in the same document they support secessionist and separatist tendencies of a part of the Macedonian public (especially the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization). This, in fact, is nothing but gross meddling in the internal affairs of a neighboring and sovereign state, contrary to the essence of the Helsinki Charter and to the new European relations.

Yet, there was something Bulgarians forgot to do and write in the declaration, intentionally or unintentionally: If they recognize the Macedonian state, when will they "recognize" the Macedonian nation? Or, do they continue to believe that Macedonians are Bulgarians, and therefore this "independent state" of Macedonia will became the second Bulgarian state in the Balkans. Perhaps, the famous Vanga has read in the stars that the time has come for "Great Bulgaria" dream to come true?

Are those the "principal stands of the Republic of Bulgaria" that the Ministry for External Affairs in Sofia is quoting in the declaration?

VMRO-DPMNE Wants Army Out of Macedonia

AU0703164691 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 91 p 3

[N.B. report: "Sovereignty Without the Yugoslav People's Army"]

[Text] Skopje—The Managing Committee of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], the strongest legislative party in Macedonia, has issued an official statement demanding the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of Macedonia.

The statement says this is demanded "in view of the fact that the Army has not abandoned its position as a political factor in the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, and the fact that the military leadership is ignoring the asymmetric Yugoslavia option." The statement stresses that the existing system of defense "is contrary to the sovereignty declaration and the interests of the sovereign Macedonian state."

VMRO-DPMNE holds the view that only the Territorial Defense of Macedonia can stand as the legitimate defender of Macedonia in the next negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia, which should focus on defense and the economy. It is thought that there are no grounds nor justification for "poor Macedonia to support several thousand officers and their families, and to take part in the unnecessary acquisition of arms and at the same be under a military occupation."

Regarding the real solution to the Macedonian state sovereignty, Macedonia should immediately be proclaimed a Balkan demilitarized zone, which is in line with the incipient initiative on a peace zone. Only this way can Macedonia count on international support and protection, which other political parties and citizens of Macedonia have not commented on yet, VMRO-DPMNE states.

Kosovo 'Secessionists' Find Refuge in Croatia

AU0703140391 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 91 p 14

[Zejnel Zejneli report: "The Last Train to Zagreb"]

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb—After the proclamation of the so-called Kacanik Constitution and "the Republic of Kosovo," the majority of the deputies of the previous Kosovo-Metohija Assembly fled to Croatia.

After the doors of the Great Hall in the center of Kacanik had closed, the Albanian secessionists sneaked out of this otherwise ethnically pure town in the same way as they had arrived at this "historic session," in the dark. Therefore, it is not surprising that this community in particular was chosen to be the place of the "historic event."

First Abroad and Then to Croatia

On the day the "Kacanik Assembly" was held almost all of the town's inhabitants organized themselves into vigilante groups.

At the "assembly" each Albanian secessionist was given the task of explaining the "reasons for the proclamation of the constitution" to their friends in the country and abroad.

Individuals went abroad with this mission, and when this trick was revealed, many of them took refuge with their friends in Croatia and Slovenia, who had suggested to them the meeting at Kacanik and the proclamation of the "constitution" in the first place.

The first one to take refuge in Turkey was Iliaz Ramalia, one of the previous vice-presidents of the ex-Assembly of Kosovo-Metohija, who also presided at the Albanian secessionists assembly, and who was born in Kacanik. He explained to his friends the "results" of the meeting and asked for the support of Albanian emigrants, of which there are a great many in Turkey. After that he returned to Croatia without any problems. An agreement with the Croatian leadership was reached earlier that all Albanian separatists would gather in Croatia where they would be offered hospitallity.

Also living in Zagreb are Bujar Gjurgjalia, who presided at the "street assembly" of Albanian secessionists, Muharrem Shabani, and Adem Mikulovci, the actor of the provincial national theater, which performed for the last time in front of the Kosovo Assembly building on 2 July last year.

Most of the previous Kosovo government leaders, led by Jusuf Zejnullahu now find themselves in Zagreb and Ljubljana. Only a few of them failed to catch "the last train."

From the hard-line secessionists the so-called "Kosovo Republic" government in exile was formed, led by Jusuf Zejnullahu, although he is abroad at the moment. Some ministers, including Health Minister Leke Vukashani and Transportation and Communication Minister Seladin Skela were arrested and released after investigation.

A Teacher to Terrorists

Jusuf Karakushi, the previous minister for Internal Affairs in Kosovo-Metohija, obviously landed on his feet. For a large foreign currency salary paid by the Croatian leadership he is training terrorists. He has nearly 1,000 policemen under his command. Most of them are Albanians from Kosmet who upon the Kosovo Alternative Parties' instructions left their jobs and went to Croatia after Serbia took over all duties of the internal affairs services.

Among many ex deputies that live in Croatia and Slovenia are, Agush Balai from Decani, Islam Gashi from Orahovac, Malixhe Bajoku from Podujevo, Azem Azemi from Orahovac, Muhamed Shabani from Stimlje, Skender Aliu, Veli Hoxha, Mehmet Sahatxhiu, Halim Dema and others.

Because of their participation in the subversive meeting an investigation has been started against them. Separately, an investigation is being conducted against Jusuf Zejnullahu, Agim Mala, Jusuf Karakushi, and Muhamet Bicaj. Arrest warrants were issued, according to federal regulations.

Given that the Croatian Assembly places its constitution above the federal one, those people will not he handed to the authorized services.

Those refugees were placed in villas and hotels. The Croatian leadership pays them a monthly income, and some individuals like Agim Mala and Jusuf Zejnullahu, gradually brought their families as well. They even received passports from the Croatian authorities and went abroad. Otherwise, all escaped secessionists hold passports that they obtained in Croatia and are kept safe in the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs. Of course, false addresses are entered.

According to an agreement with Boljkovac and Seks, the secessionists, when they "need" to travel abroad, they receive a passport, and when they come back they return it to the safe of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia.

The Croatian authorities have found excellent allies in Albanian secessionists, for whom they envisaged the dirtiest job in the rebellion.

Will they also get only "five bullets?" [allusion to a comment made by Croat Defense Minister Spegelj in the recent controversial army film]

Muslims Demand 'Cultural-Educational' Autonomy

AU0703151591 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 91 p 3

[R. Barjaktarevic report: "They Fancy Sandzak"]

[Excerpt] Pristina—The Party of Democratic Action of Kosovo is presently demanding the cultural-educational autonomy of Sandzak, but if Serbia and Montenegro were to unite, it would also demand territorial autonomy, because Sandzak was part of Bosnia in 1459. This was stated by Kosovo Democratic Party President Numan Balic at a news conference in Pristina yesterday. He said that Islamic fundamentalism and mujahidins did not exist in Kosovo.

The purpose of the news conference, which was held on the premises of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo ("because we and the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo hold identical views on the peaceful solution to problems), was to "inform the public about the political, religious, and economic imperilment of the Muslims in Kosovo and Serbia."

The Party of Kosovo Muslims, which has over 15,000 members, "is not able to find premises for work anywhere. Hundreds of thousands of people are being dismissed from work just because they are Muslims, and members of the Party of Democratic Action are being harassed and arrested for no particular reason." This was stated by Numan Balic, Bajram Makic, Fazbi Muska, and others claiming that "Serbs in Kosovo are not threatened by Albanians, and that Kosovo is not the cradle of Serbia." [passage omitted]

Ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina Issue Memorandum

AU0803133591 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Mar 91 p 3

[MTI report: "Vojvodina Hungarians Submit Nine-Point Document to the Council of Europe—They Demand the Use of Mother Tongue and Names"]

[Text] TANJUG carried details of the memorandum issued by the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK], a memorandum recently submitted by Chairman Andras Agoston to the director of the Political Department of the Council of Europe in Brussels. Essentially, this is the first time that a Yugoslav press agency carried detailed steps of the VMDK aimed at investigating the affair of Hungarian victims between 1944 and 1945.

The aforementioned nine-point program stresses that "the Serbian constitution destroys the essential elements of the autonomy enjoyed by Vojvodina so far and, therefore, the VMDK calls for the creation of a self-government based on personal principles, as opposed to territorial principles." The VMDK urges "justice in connection with the anti-Hungarian genocide between 1944-1945, because only this can absolve the guilty conscience forced upon the Vojvodina Hungarians by the one-party state apparatus." (After World War II, many thousands of Hungarians in Vojvodina were executed in the cruelest way without trial as revenge for the Hungarian crimes committed in Vojvodina and elsewhere.)

The VMDK calls for the possibility to use one's mother tongue "in accordance with the European norms." The VMDK calls for complete freedom in using one's names, the opening of Hungarian schools, nurseries, and kindergartens, as well as the reorganization of the Institute of Hungarian Studies. The VMDK urges financial and moral compensation to people who were sentenced in recent years for struggling for national minority rights. The VMDK demands the return of property confiscated from the Hungarian organizations.

According to TANJUG, the reason for this letter sent to the Council of Europe is that the situation of Hungarians in Vojvodina is humiliating and unbearable, and they have never had the right to express their own national interests and demands in Yugoslavia.

Serbs Forced Into Vojvodina

LD0703210391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1404 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Novi Sad, March 7 (TANJUG)—Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Vojvodina Province (within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia), said the leadership of the Republic of Croatia does not want a peaceful solution to the country's crisis. Kostic told a Vojvodina legislative session that "Croatia is demonstrating police force," adding that women, children and the elderly in Croatia are forced to seek refuge in Vojvodina "only because they are Serbs." The actions of the Croatian authorities are one of the reasons why Serbia is insisting that the Serbian people live in a single state, he said. We will not allow Serbs to be an ethnic minority in any republic, Kostic set out.

The Croatian refugees began arriving in Vojvodina after the Croatian Interior Ministry members (special police) stormed the town of Pakrac, mainly populated by Serbs.

The Republic of Serbia and parties rallying Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia insist on a federal Yugoslavia because they want Serbs to live within a single federal state.

1991 EC Cooperation Memorandum Signed

LD0703164591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1527 GMT 7 Mar 91

[Text] Belgrade, March 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Affairs Secretariat department head Goran Fejic and head of the E.C. Commission department Jean-Jacques Schwed signed in Belgrade on Thursday a memorandum on cooperation between Yugoslavia and the E.C. in 1991.

The document envisages cooperation in training and advanced training of cadres, industrial cooperation in the power industry, agriculture, statistics, standardization and transportation.

During talks with Yugoslav Finance Secretariat Assistant Nikola Jelic, details were set out for the forthcoming third financial protocol under which the E.C. will approve around 1.1 billion dollars to Yugoslavia.